


Fall 2002

## The Politic 2002 Fall

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The

# POLITIC

YALE COLLEGE'S JOURNAL OF POLITICS

Volume III, Issue I

Fall 2002

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## SECURING AMERICA'S FUTURE

AN EVALUATION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY  
FEATURING PRESIDENT GERALD FORD, GORDON ADAMS, AND AHMED RASHID



Now a Quarterly  
Publication



# THE POLITIC

Yale College's Journal of Politics

The Politic gratefully acknowledges the support of the Yale Institution for Social and Policy Studies and the Yale Center for International and Area Studies, whose generosity and commitment to public policy research have helped make this magazine possible.

The Politic would also like to extend its sincere gratitude to its Board of Advisers, whose guidance has played a large role in shaping the development and expanding the influence of The Politic.

In addition, The Politic would like to thank its distinguished contributors, whose insightful commentary and reasoned opinions have produced an informative and enlightening debate for our readers to enjoy.

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We welcome letters to the editor and any other feedback you may have. In addition, the cover photo is courtesy of AFP.

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## Letter from the Editors

Dear Reader,

In the months immediately following the events of September 11, Americans sought to learn more about the world and foreign affairs. After years of failing to follow the complexities of diplomacy and international relations, they suddenly demanded that major newspapers and other media outlets provide them with the coverage and context to better understand America's relations with the international community. Hopefully, one of the productive consequences of 9/11 will be that Americans will realize that their nation's interests extend beyond its borders, that the United States must work multilaterally with other world powers to contain threats, and that as responsible citizens, Americans must inform themselves of not only domestic policy issues but foreign policy as well.

It is in this context that *The Politic* has increased relevance. *The Politic* was founded to provide students of policy with a better understanding of the complex issues facing the country and the world. In the months since our last issue, *The Politic* has embarked on a number of important new relationships that will ensure that its content remains timely and informative. Foremost among these relationships are the partnerships between the *Politic* and a number of Yale institutions. *The Politic's* relationship with the Yale Center for International and Area Studies and the Institution for Social and Policy Studies will help *The Politic* ensure that its content remains exceptional and relevant. In addition to these relationships, *The Politic* has entered into a partnership with the Yale Daily News Publishing Corporation, Inc. to help make the magazine into a quarterly publication and to further expand its circulation.

*The Politic* believes that Americans must be informed in order to be effective participants in the world. The focus of this, our fourth issue, is "Securing America's Future." We hope that the piece written by Gordon Adams on national security, as well as interviews with President Gerald Ford, former Education Secretary William Bennett, and Afghanistan expert Ahmed Rashid will provide you with several interesting perspectives to better understand the issues facing the United States in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.

Sincerely,

Serge Grossman

Ben Schrader



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## Letters to the Editor

### Re: Racial Profiling in Our Nation's Airports

Dear Editor:

I take issue with Mr. White's defense of the 'justified practice' of racial profiling in American airports. He suggests that since all of the September 11 terrorists were "Arabic . . . practitioners of Islam . . . and come from known state incubators of terrorism in the Middle East," and that all known suicide bombers have fit the same criteria, it follows that we should support a blanket policy of singling out those who appear to be of Arab descent in airport screenings.

I would suggest that, instead of scrambling for reasons to justify racial profiling, we simply call it what it is: race discrimination. It is the assumption that a certain individual may act a certain way based solely on his or her physical appearance, and no pragmatic argument for its enforcement can outweigh the principled argument against the behavior.

A better question points to the inaction of the government on September 11. Presumably, the CIA monitors the movement of those with known terrorist links within U.S. borders. How did the fact that 19 men with known terrorist links intending to travel on the same morning, four or five to a plane, not raise any red flags? Was the CIA simply unaware of their movement on that day? If that was the case, efforts to improve such oversight would be a far better allocation of resources in fighting the war on terror, and pose no threat to the freedom from discrimination that all Americans, no matter their skin color, deserve.

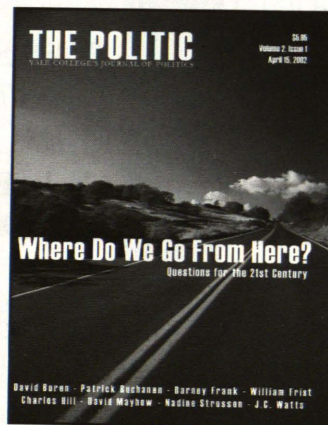
- Edward Shaw '03

### Re: Infotainment

Dear Editor:

I agree completely with Mr. Bloom's article. American media coverage has deteriorated greatly in the past decade. One must look no further than the major media outlets coverage of national and world events to see the failure of the American media. It is shocking to

hear that Americans receive the majority of their news from local news broadcasts and that these 23 minute newscasts contain little more than a few minutes of national and international stories. The majority of the stories that are aired are special interest or focus on insignificant non-issue stories like the rise in shoplifting at local stores or which celebrity is having an affair. The media, however, is not alone in blame. The American



people seem to enjoy this infotainment and have no desire to further their understanding of domestic and foreign policy issues. The consequences of continuing to ignore hard news in favor of fluff stories will be a dumbed-down American public with little interest in the issues that affect them most.

- Scott Bender '04

### Re: The Death of the West

Dear Editor:

I think Mr. Buchanan's assertions in the last issue of *The Politic* regarding the decay of Western civilization are some of the most absurd notions I have heard in a long while. His claim that the Mexican government intends to use the Mexican-American population of the Southwest as a 'fifth column' that will ultimately threaten the very existence of the United States is particularly unreasonable. Mr. Buchanan seems to believe that unless immigrants shed all cultural ties to their native land, including (where applicable) religion, language,

and historical heritage, the United States cannot prosper as a nation. His extraordinary neglect of the principles on which this nation was founded – diversity and inclusion prominent among them – and his implied idea that the United States is or should be solely white, Christian and English-speaking poses more of a threat to the United States than any emergent subculture could ever hope for.

Mr. Buchanan also argues for a moratorium on immigration, in order to "decide whether we are indeed losing the country we grew up in." As successful precedent, he explains that "Between 1924 and 1965, the United States maintained its commitment to hope and opportunity and we had virtually zero immigration." But I fail to see how a nation committed to hope and opportunity, built in fact upon the world's "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," can simultaneously shut those borders to the very people it alleges to bring hope to.

I would finally challenge Mr. Buchanan's simplistic understanding of what it means for a culture to 'die' – he seems to believe that population statistics are the sole determinant of a nation's influence in the world. Not so – the United States, a large country by all accounts, still wields more political and cultural influence than China, Russia and India, despite the staggering populations of those nations. And a nation like Ireland, home to a mere two million people (less than one-fourth the total population of New York City), has exported a culture that has been embraced around the world. Mr. Buchanan needs to re-evaluate the nature of the country he seeks to restore: should it be exclusive, disadvantaging all those who do not fit his mold of the "true American?" Or should it embrace foreign cultures and ideas, incorporating an all-encompassing diversity into the American fabric? I question the implication that the Founding Fathers would select the former over the latter, and I think Mr. Buchanan would be wise to do the same.

- Charles Billington '04



# WIRING THE NATION

## STRATEGIES FOR BROADBAND DEVELOPMENT

By Joe Lieberman



Over one hundred and fifty years ago, a new technology emerged that seized the imagination of the public and the purse strings of investors. It was a technology that promised to bring people closer together and to greatly stimulate the economy of that time.

In order to succeed, that new technology required that the land be crisscrossed with a network upon which news could be carried and goods could be traded.

Bankers funded hundreds of startup companies that were built to take advantage of the new network. Investors clamored to purchase shares at rapidly rising prices. And then, after little more than a decade of overbuilding the infrastructure, it all fell apart as shares plunged 85 per cent and hundreds of businesses and banks went under.

As the May 13 issue of *Business Week* emphasized, the technology boom was like the steam driven railroad boom of an earlier era. The analogies to the Information Technology boom of the 1990s are unmistakable and the lessons are invaluable. But the most important part of the story is what happened after the railroad bubble burst.

Within two decades, railroads were carrying four times as many people as they had at the height of the boom. The tracks were cleared, leaving the most solid companies and the best of the rail technologies to survive. According to W. Brian Arthur, an economist at the Santa Fe Institute, the survivors then developed new strategies that resulted in the industry's greatest growth and had the greatest impact on the business and society of that time.

We now find ourselves in the same situation as the railroads when they developed their new strategies, except that the technology is now broadband. It is clear that broadband will revolutionize business and society in our time, just as the railroads did in theirs. But it is also a confusing time, as many different interests emerge with many different agendas. The issues we face are

many and they are complex. For some, there will be no easy answers. But it is time for us to have a national strategy that addresses these issues in a coherent and comprehensive manner.

Broadband deployment must become a national priority. Major economic growth and productivity gains can be realized by making affordable high-speed broadband Internet connections – which are already enjoyed by many universities and large businesses – widely available to American homes, schools, and small businesses.

In a soft economic climate with limited prospects for near-term recovery, broadband deployment is a necessary condition for the restoration of capital spending in the information technology sector. Such investments were the critical drivers of the non-inflationary growth that characterized the late 1990s. Broadband, which can play a pivotal role in encouraging investments in information technology, has the potential to transform education, health care, government, entertainment, and commerce.

Of course, embracing broadband as a vehicle for economic growth raises the question, how fast is fast enough for truly advanced emerging applications? The telecom, cable, and satellite industries are now providing Internet access at speeds typically less than 1.5 megabits per second (Mbps). A review of existing and likely technologies, however, suggests that we have only achieved the first level of broadband speeds. On the foreseeable horizon are technologies that offer advanced broadband speeds of 10 Mbps in the near-term and 100 Mbps in the medium-term. A national strategy needs to focus on this advanced broadband opportunity. Arguably, it will be at this advanced speed range that the greatest benefits



**“The private sector will need to invest hundreds of billions of dollars before widespread broadband access becomes a reality. Government nevertheless has an important role to play in the areas of Internet privacy, security, spam, copyright protection, spectrum allocation, and rights-of-way.”**

from broadband will come.

A successful strategy to accelerate the deployment of broadband will lead to immeasurable benefits to the quality of life and economy of the American people. But a successful strategy must encompass various issues in a comprehensive and coherent manner, and the debate must not become mired in any one issue. What we need is a sensible, intelligent approach that addresses the full range of issues within the context of an interrelated framework, not the piecemeal process that has brought us to the present confusion and controversies.

This strategy must recognize a truth that sometimes becomes lost in the multiplicity of debates over such issues as the regulation of telephone and cable companies. What is overlooked – and must be recognized – is that *demand* will drive the next phase of broadband expansion. Strong demand from consumers, smaller businesses, and even big businesses that currently have high-speed Internet connectivity, will produce a cycle of innovation and growth. But demand, in turn, requires that applications of real value be developed. It requires, in other words, ‘killer applications’ that justify, in the minds of consumers, the price of progressively faster broadband connections.

The private sector will need to invest hundreds of billions of dollars before widespread broadband access becomes a reality. Government nevertheless has an important role to play as broadband suppliers face challenges in the areas of Internet privacy, security, spam, copyright protection, spectrum allocation, and rights-of-way. It is vital that, in these and other areas, government remains ‘technology-neutral’ and that competition between the delivery technologies exists alongside competition within the technologies. This will allow the best and most cost-effective delivery systems to emerge, meeting the varied needs of different people and regions across this diverse country.

There are, however, many ways that government, through a national strategy, can accelerate the life cycle of development and competition for emerging broadband technologies. It can do so by stimulating both the demand and supply side of broadband deployment.

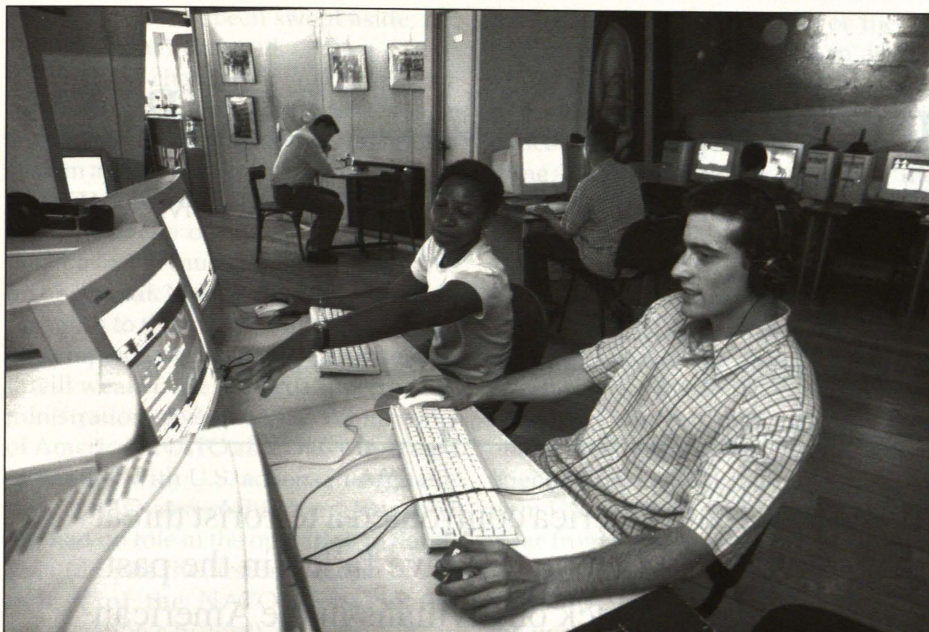
On the demand side, government should lead the way in generating demand by expanding e-government services to the public and to businesses, and by supporting the development of broadband tools for e-education and e-healthcare. E-entertainment and e-commerce will be quick to take advantage of the expanded services, and renewed economic growth will surely follow. On the supply side, government can consider such tools as tax credits, loans, and grants for a wide variety of research, deployment, and broadband utilization activities.

As the first in a series of legislative initiatives, my National Broadband Strategy Act of 2002 highlights the need for a coherent and comprehensive national strategy for providing widespread availability of broadband and for motivating research and advances in broadband applications and content. Because broadband implementation has been piecemeal, and stalled in significant part because numerous government agencies have failed to act quickly in deciding a wide range of broadband issues now pending before them, the bill calls upon the Administration to recommend a coherent, cross-agency national broadband strategy in a series of key government policy areas.

Parallel to that, and focusing on how we will get to truly advanced broadband speeds (in the range of 10 Mbps and 100 Mbps), there is a need for a series of substantive pieces of legislation addressing four key elements integral to a national strategy for advanced broadband deployment. The key elements are:

1. **FCC REGULATORY FRAMEWORK:** Direct the FCC to explore all of the broadband deployment and delivery technology options to enable us to reach advanced broadband speeds. Retaining technological neutrality, the FCC will be asked to develop the regulatory framework to enable and implement a plan to deploy this advanced Internet capability.
2. **TAX CREDITS:** Establish tax credits and incentives for a range of advanced broadband deployment and





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broadband utilization efforts. These could include credits for infrastructure deployment, equipment implementation, employee utilization, installation in atypical settings, and innovative applications.

**3. ADVANCED INFRASTRUCTURE R&D:** Ensure that fundamental R&D issues are tackled in a coordinated manner to overcome the scientific and technological barriers to advanced widespread broadband deployment. The U.S. has already established successful interagency and interdisciplinary initiatives under the National Information Technology Research & Development Program to advance critical IT technologies. We must leverage our existing expertise in these programs to resolve fundamental obstacles to effective broadband deployment and hasten the next generation of technologies. A cooperative R&D program, including government, industry and universities, will be critical to advanced broadband.

**4. APPLICATION R&D AND DEPLOYMENT:** Require federal agencies to undertake R&D and promote the development and availability of major applications in areas where government plays a central role, including e-education, e-medicine, e-government, e-science and home-

land security. This could stimulate demand for broadband and promote bridging of the digital divide consistent with the missions of government agencies. And the government should lead by example in moving to expand opportunities for broadband-based e-commerce in federal procurement, bidding, and contracting.

Time and technology will not stop, and our nation's eventual transformation into a broadband society will occur regardless of what steps are taken today. It is ours to choose whether we will be dragged into the next digital age resisting change, or whether we lead others into a new era of economic promise. If we are to take control of our future, we must begin by harnessing the power of broadband as a necessary tool for navigating a world increasingly defined by the speed with which information changes and grows.

*Connecticut Senator Joe Lieberman was first elected to the Senate in 1988. A 1964 graduate of Yale College and a 1967 graduate of Yale Law School, he has earned a national reputation as a thoughtful, principled, and effective legislator. A nationally recognized leader of the Democratic Party, in 2000 he was the Democratic candidate for Vice President, becoming the first Jewish-American to be nominated for that office.*

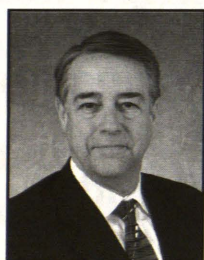
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# A STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

## DECONSTRUCTING THE WAR ON TERROR, UNILATERALISM AND AMERICA'S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

*By Gordon Adams*



**F**or the past year, America confronted a terrorist threat that succeeded where many have failed in the past: carrying out a direct attack on civilians in the American homeland. The threat is manifestly real. So real, in fact, that virtually all of American national security

planning has been torqued around to face it, from intelligence gathering, to military operations, to the conduct of diplomacy, to international financial interventions. This unidirectional focus now incorporates a new goal – removing the government of Iraq on the grounds that it has been a state sponsor of terrorism and may soon possess weapons of mass destruction that pose a direct threat to regional stability and to the United States. In both cases, moreover, the current administration has ‘gone it alone’ in shaping its tactics and plans, distancing itself from other nations.

The terrorist threat and the dangers posed by a nuclear-armed Iraq pose real dilemmas for U.S. national security planners. Putting terrorism and Saddam’s Middle Eastern satrapy at the center of American national security policy, however, are increasingly warping overall U.S. policy. Both the focus and the manner in which these policies are being pursued are increasingly counterproductive to America’s long-term interests and international leadership. Just when a unipolar world should provide a unique opportunity for leadership in addressing fundamental international problems, the U.S. is increasingly wasting that asset, alienating friends and allies, and ignoring long-term trends that are likely to increase international instability in the future. The potential for the United States to become a ‘reluctant sheriff’ with a willing posse to back it up is being replaced by a solo gunfight in the not-so-OK Corral, while others shy away from the coalition.

The absence of a long-term vision and strategy for dealing with the underlying security dilemmas facing the planet is at the heart of this growing dilemma. The administration came into office without an integrated national security strategy and has done little since to develop one, beyond the President’s remarks about ‘preemption,’ with

respect to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. The result is a national security orientation driven by the crises of the moment – terrorist attacks and the desire to oust Saddam – and policy implementation that is largely military in nature. The only documents that lay out a national strategy have come from the Pentagon, not from the National Security Council. There is no broader vision of the American role in the world, and the synergistic way in which American diplomatic and economic power and influence, reinforced by its military might, can strengthen and sustain America’s long-term global leadership.

How has the unidirectional focus become distorting? While terrorists manifestly exist, terrorism is a tactic, not a central, organizing principle for approaching a nation or a movement’s engagement with the rest of the planet. Terrorist tactics are one way for some states and movements to pursue their goals, from civil war in Sri Lanka, to the overthrow of a repressive regime, to the assertion of the goals of some Palestinians. Terrorism is not the only tactic, nor is it used at all times by all movements seeking change. There is no ‘terrorist’ international, no ‘terrorist’ coalition of states (*pace* the ‘axis of evil’), no ‘terrorism’ ideology opposing the idea of democracy and free markets. Nor are all terrorists alike; many operate regionally, not globally. Most nations are not state supporters or safe harbors for terrorists.

The idea that an international coalition against terrorism can be a unifying principle for national security policy in the early 21st century, as has been asserted by the U.S. administration, is doomed to failure. States seek to promote a variety of interests and face a variety of problems. A coalition against terror will not solve all other international problems. The broader dynamics of international



security have not been swept aside; not everything has changed.

What has changed, if anything, is the realization that the United States is as vulnerable to the vagaries of the global system as other nations. But those vagaries are not just about terrorism, and the broader sweep of issues and problems may be lost because of the myopic focus on one threat. Moreover, if the American response to this vulnerability is to shape and implement its strategy unilaterally, it will weaken the very coalition the administration says it needs. While some of America's NATO allies have operated in parallel with U.S. actions in Afghanistan, NATO as a coalition organization has had no role in the operation in South Asia (despite the first invocation of Article V of the NATO treaty in the organization's history).

Focusing on the Iraqi leg of the axis of evil compounds this distortion. The United States is on the verge of carrying out a hostile invasion of a sovereign nation for the purposes of overthrowing the regime, without an immediate *casus belli*. It can be stipulated that the Saddam Hussein dictatorship is loathsome and repressive, even murderous. He has conducted two major military actions outside Iraqi borders in recent history (Iran and Kuwait) and poses a clear threat to regional stability in the Gulf and Middle East. He attempted to kill the father of the current U.S. President. He possesses and has used chemical weapons and is clearly seeking to obtain biological and nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them. He has evaded, avoided and ultimately undermined the inspection regime put in place after the Gulf War. There are some indications (intelligence may show more) that he has provided support for regional and perhaps even global terrorists. Saddam Hussein is a genuine 'bad guy,' who wishes his regional neighbors and the United States harm and will try to carry out that threat, if possible, even if his means are severely restricted.

For all of this reality, the weight of the Iraqi threat in the overall architecture of U.S. national security policy is not so clear. While the Iraqi government has fired on U.S. patrol aircraft over the past decade, it has not carried out a direct, full military attack on U.S. forces or on the United States. There is little evidence that

the Iraqis possess the means or the intention of carrying out such an attack. The threat to the United States is not immediate or direct, nor is there any evidence that the Iraqis will develop anything like the capability of posing the kind of military threat the Soviet Union once possessed. The United States has substantial military, diplomatic and economic superiority in the region, overwhelming any capacity Saddam might develop. The case has yet to be made that overthrowing the Iraqi regime will, in itself, deter others from seeking weapons of mass destruction, and the consequences for regional stability and long-term U.S. relations with the Arab world is far from certain.

The distorting impact of this policy on overall U.S. interests is exacerbated by the unilateral way in which the administration has been pursuing its policy. Only of late has the realization begun to sink in that it will be important to create a solid international coalition of like-minded states and international support through the United Nations for the goals of disarming Iraq or removing the current regime. For some time, the Arab nations, some of the U.S.'s closest European allies, and Russia have warned against a unilateral U.S. 'adventure' in the Gulf.

The unidirectional focus, combined with unilateral planning and implementation has blinded the United States to its own long-term interests and has hamstrung the ability of the U.S. to exercise global leadership. There is no U.S. national security strategy focused broadly on the multiple problems, threats and opportunities facing the United States and the globe in the 21st century. Arguably, this administration had no national security strategy coming into office. The events of 9/11 and now the question of Saddam Hussein have become substitutes for such a strategy, with a decidedly military character. The opportunity for global U.S. leadership is being squandered in the miasma of anti-terrorism and the campaign to oust Saddam Hussein.

What are the underlying dynamics in the global system and the leadership role the U.S. is missing? First, the United States can only exercise global leadership if it has willing followers and co-conspirators. The core of that international coalition is in Europe, yet the current ad-

**"The unidirectional focus, combined with unilateral planning and implementation has blinded the United States to its own long-term interests and is hamstringing the ability of the U.S. to exercise global leadership. There is no U.S. national security strategy focused broadly on the multiple problems, threats and opportunities facing the United States and the globe in the 21st century."**



ministration has generally treated our European allies as feckless fat cats supping at the table of commercial success while the globe burns. The future of NATO is treated as a secondary issue. EU



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planning to create a separate, but compatible military force responding to European needs and requirements is dismissed as meaningless. European views on international agreements such as the ABM Treaty and the Kyoto agreement have been swept aside. European views on the International Criminal Court are not merely dismissed; the U.S. has basically threatened to link

future NATO membership to the willingness of candidate countries to sign bilateral agreements that exempt the U.S. from the Court's jurisdiction. Hardball pressure has replaced diplomacy in our dealings with European countries.

Similar observations can be made with respect to the other regions of major U.S. vital interest. In North Asia, the United States has no clear strategy for either engaging or containing China as a regional power, but appears prepared simply to let things happen with minimal, lower level engagement. U.S. policy toward North Korea has swung wildly from apparent engagement (meetings on the fringe of other international discussions) to confrontation (North Korea as a member of the 'axis of evil'). Although the administration came to office with a commitment to restoring Japan as the lynchpin in U.S. security planning for Asia, aside from cooperation on ballistic missile defenses, there has been no such strategic engagement with Japan.

In Southeast Asia, U.S. policy is focused on fighting terrorism, but not on the broader agenda of internal political stability in Indonesia, the future of Philippine democracy, or regional security.

In Asia, the U.S. is engaged along the one clear dimension of security policy, but at the cost of broader security requirements in the region.

The Middle East is becoming an especially tragic case. Virtually every country in the region looks to the United States for leadership in resolving contentious issues and guaranteeing regional stability. Current U.S. policy eschews this role, preferring, instead, to cast regional tensions entirely in the anti-terrorism framework. By aligning the U.S. with current Israeli policy, the ability to mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has eroded.

The U.S. appears unwilling to recognize that the broader goal of regional stability depends heavily both on ending the Palestinian Intifada and bringing the Israelis back to the negotiating table. This is a tough problem; it takes strategic vision, patience and sustained attention to resolve it. Current U.S. policy cannot be characterized as visionary, patient or sustained.

More broadly in this critical region, shaping U.S. policy around the war on terrorism and the campaign against Saddam risks provoking major regional problems. The mere act of supporting these U.S. goals is a double-edged sword for the governments of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Jordan and Egypt. Their concern about internal political stability clashes with a campaign that can appear anti-Islamic. Nor do these regimes want to be seen as ganging up on Saddam, as the recent Arab League resolution indicates. Some will say that many of these regimes will ensure stability by criticizing American policy in public, while supporting it privately. This may be true where disarming Iraq is concerned. It is less obviously attractive to these regimes when the United States set a precedent of preemptive strike to remove unattractive governments in the region.

In addition, pursuing the war on terrorism, the United States is clearly extending its vital concerns to include the broader region of South and Central Asia. This strategy contains the downside risk of associating the U.S. with strongly authoritarian regimes in this region that are doing little to create long-term, sustainable market economies or democratic politics. In the long-term,

**"The campaign against Saddam risks provoking major regional problems. The mere act of supporting these U.S. goals is a double-edged sword for the governments of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Jordan and Egypt."**



these regimes will not survive and their internal policies are likely to make some of them fertile breeding grounds for future terrorists.

Across the Middle East and Central Asia, the broader agenda includes Arab-Israeli peace, peaceful regime change, support for democracy, resolution of disagreements on natural resources such as water, stability in global oil markets, and at least stability if not peace along the Kashmiri line of control. Allies on some of these vital issues are being lost, given the unidirectional and unilateral U.S. policies.

There are also a growing number of crosscutting global problems from which the U.S. has disengaged and for which the U.S. lacks a cohesive strategy. Policy on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction comes closest to having a strategic vision, but that vision itself is myopically focused on using military means to preempt any potentially threatening regime or movement. As President Bush put it at West Point in June, 2002: "If we wait for threats to fully materialize, we will have waited too long...[T]he war on terror will not be won on the defensive. We must take the battle to the enemy, disrupt his plans, and confront the worst threats before they emerge....Our security will require all Americans to be forward-looking and resolute, to be ready for preemptive action when necessary to defend our liberty and to defend our lives."

While a ready military to deal with proliferators is a worthy goal, this approach to non-proliferation is a blunt instrument with has three major downsides: it builds no coalitions in support of the objective, it leaves the U.S. alone in the position of determining when to use preemptive military action, and it systematically ignores dealing with the problems that could lead to proliferation in the first place.

U.S. non-proliferation policy today devotes essentially no attention to shaping or reshaping international regimes affecting proliferation. Indeed, the administration is notable for its belief that international regimes only constrain the U.S., while doing nothing to restrain proliferation. The abandonment of the ABM treaty, the decision to set aside the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the rejection of the implementation protocol to the

Biological Weapons Convention all make this clear, as does any administration declaration on the general subject. Yet, to be truly effective, a meaningful non-proliferation strategy needs not only to punish violators through military means, but also to build a long-term, sustainable consensus about acceptable rules of behavior. Current U.S. policy is eroding the credibility of existing regimes, replacing them with unilateral, preemptive action. It is a unidimensional, unilateral policy, which erodes American leadership potential and, downstream, could exacerbate the threat to U.S. national security.

Non-proliferation is the good news; here, at least there is a policy, however inadequate and oversimplified. Proliferation is far from the only issue on the global agenda, however. U.S. policy with respect to the implications of a global economy for regional and global security is simply non-existent. This lacuna, too, bears the seeds of future problems. The impoverished regions of the globe—globalization's losers in the arc of conflict from the Middle East, through South and Central Asia, to Southeast Asia—are a breeding ground for instability, extremism and terrorism.

The lesson of the 1990s is that the global economy needs to be as much a part of national security concern as political and military conflict within and between states. Yet, the administration has retreated to the era when the government only worried about peace and war, but not the economy. It is the economy that created

**"Current U.S. policy . . . is a unidimensional, unilateral policy, which erodes American leadership potential and, downstream, could exacerbate the threat to U.S. national security."**





**“To be effective, the Administration will need to integrate all the tools of statecraft, the ‘leadership assets’ of the United States: American diplomacy, economic assistance, financial strength, intelligence, public diplomacy, as well as the country’s substantial military strength.”**

fertile conditions for instability in Indonesia, that weakened Japan’s international leadership, and that undermines fledgling democracies in Africa, stimulates instability in Latin America, and sustains Islamic extremists in Turkey. The U.S. is being dragged kicking and screaming into each successive national or regional financial crisis—Argentina, Brazil, Turkey—instead of ‘pre-empting’ in taking the lead to shape global economic and fiscal policy. Moreover, although the administration has announced plans for dramatic increases in foreign economic assistance, it has announced no strategy for how those resources would be used to address this issue of global inequality. This policy of unilateral avoidance and “Johnny come lately” response, combined with the absence of any long-term assistance strategy, will bear bitter fruit in future crises.

The same can be said with response to the administration’s lack of policy and leadership in the other critical areas of global tension: future regimes for water resources in critical regions, reducing pollutants that harm the environment and human health, treatment of a broad range of infectious diseases, reducing the use and flow of narcotic substances, reigning in international criminal organizations, or protecting human rights around the globe. None of these problems can be addressed, let alone solved, by the United States acting unilaterally. Here, however, there is hardly any U.S. policy, even a unilateral one. There are two partial exceptions: Plan Colombia and HIV/AIDS. Plan Colombia, however, seems to substitute increasing U.S. involvement in a ground conflict in that country for a broader policy with respect to international narcotics. In the HIV/AIDS case, the increase in U.S. resources has been largely at the cost of funding for other foreign assistance priorities.

The initial reaction to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 suggested that they were a wake-up call for the administration and for the U.S., demonstrating the need for coalition-building and global engagement, instead of the course of insular unilateralism on which the administration seemed bent. But the war was shaped around terrorism and the pursuit of Al Qaeda, and the implementation was largely unilateral.

Terrorism is too narrow and marginal

a goal and the administration has not noticeably strengthened the coalition it created to fight the threat. The global engagement and leadership necessary to resolve underlying international problems and to ensure long-term international stability is absent.

The administration needs a clear and comprehensive national security strategy. A unilateral military response to a single international problem is not an adequate substitute. Only a broader, long-term national security strategy will address the underlying problems that give birth to terrorism. To be effective, it will need to integrate all the tools of statecraft, the “leadership assets” of the United States: American diplomacy, economic assistance, financial strength, intelligence, public diplomacy, as well as the country’s substantial military strength.

The strategy should seek long-term political stability and economic growth in key regions, policies to ensure that the globalized economy benefits all and not just a few, expansion of the reach of democracy and market growth, guaranteed security at Europe’s borders, a peace process between the Israelis and the Palestinians, stability in Kashmir, as smooth a transition in Korea as possible, a major coalition effort against international crime and drug cartels; restraints on the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, reduced atmospheric pollution, and, yes, the stemming of global terrorism. The myopic and unilateral U.S. focus on military operations against terrorism and Saddam Hussein is slowly eroding the U.S. capability to provide international leadership on this critical agenda.

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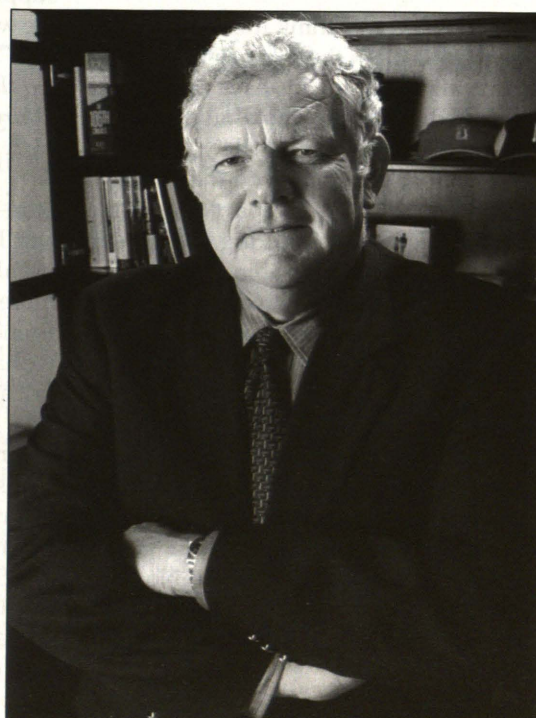


# AMERICA TODAY

## UNITED STATES POLITICS AND SOCIETY AFTER SEPTEMBER 11

### *A Conversation with William Bennett*

William Bennett emerged as one of the nation's most prominent political figures during the 1980s. He served under President Reagan as chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities (1981-1985) and the Secretary of Education (1985-1988). Under President Bush, he served as the nation's "drug czar" from 1989 to 1990. He is currently a distinguished fellow at the Heritage Foundation, co-director of Empower America, and Chairman and co-founder of K12, an Internet-based elementary and secondary school. Dr. Bennett is the chairman of a new nationwide project, Americans for Victory Over Terrorism (AVOT), and his most recent book, *Why We Fight: Moral Clarity and the War on Terrorism*, explores America's reaction to the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks. On September 20<sup>th</sup>, he spoke with *The Politic*.



***The Politic: One year after September 11<sup>th</sup>, how has our country changed and what lessons have we learned?***

William Bennett: It remains to be seen how we have changed. I think many people have made a lot of quick judgments that we have changed dramatically for the better. There was some initial data—a huge swell in church attendance, bible sales, divorce filings were withdrawn, family books were selling—and now all of that has disappeared. Now this may interest your readers; I had a lot of college students and recent graduates call me in October and November of last year and say I think I'm going into government, the CIA, the State Department—that has disappeared. Whether something has changed at a deeper level, my sense is that if you look at the attitude of patriotism—that attitude is strong and much more definite in many people. If you look at America, there are flags on cars, flags on houses—so I think that something has happened.

The other thing that's happened is that people were reminded of some things that should have never been forgotten.

***What should we teach our children about September 11<sup>th</sup>?***

The truth. Teach them the truth; teach them what happened. And don't sanitize it too much. Some of these television specials I have watched have been, frankly, quite anodyne, and I think that they need to show the world what actually happened. You don't have to show people jumping out of windows—but I think people need to see just how horrible it was. You know, parents should make a judgment about their kid's sensibility. But, consider the Holocaust. Everybody is always saying "never forget" and we see some pretty gruesome pictures so

that we will not forget. Well, we shouldn't forget this one either.

***In a recent Wall Street Journal column, you state that America's "greatness is being denigrated, unlearned, and forgotten." What has caused this? If the civil liberties of many Americans have been infringed upon as a response to Sept 11<sup>th</sup>, does that affect the greatness of our nation?***

To address the first part, this has occurred because of a half a century of revisionism at colleges and universities, where people want to say that the United States is not so great a state, and undercut the notion of American exceptionalism. This has been pretty much a broad program through many educational institutions and it has had a surprising effect. Remember that map from the 2000 election. I'm not making a point about Bush and Gore; I'm making a point about people and elites. If you look at the maps of Kansas or Texas, they



**"Tom Wolfe has pointed out that we're usually in more trouble not when we're more desperate but when things are great. Economically, when the pot is boiling over, we have more trouble because people play fast and loose and don't pay a lot of attention."**

are both pretty red places except for a few blue spots and those are all of the universities.

Part of American greatness is American freedom, that's for sure, and the civil liberties question is a good one and a legitimate one, provided one recognizes that some people captured in the course of this enterprise are war criminals and are enemy soldiers, and are therefore not entitled to the protections of American citizens.

*You have been quite forthcoming in seeing the War on Terrorism as simply "good versus evil." Why do you see it that way?*

Well that's what I think it is. Let me tell you what I think the interesting point is. Critics of my arguments have said "well I don't know anyone who would say that Osama bin Laden isn't evil." That's not the part that our friends on the left have trouble digesting. The part they have trouble digesting is saying the U.S. is good—it's not in saying bin Laden is evil that they have trouble with. And they shouldn't have that problem.

I mean God knows we're not a perfect country—we've done horrible things and continue to do things that aren't very good. But on the historical record, there's never been a greater country, and a country that's been more for good, and contributed more human advancement, been more generous, more decent, more humane. No place has ever been as much the standard of humanity and human rights.

*In the months following September 11<sup>th</sup>, the Office of National Drug Policy began an advertising campaign linking drug use to the war on terrorism. Do you believe there is indeed a link?*

Before one tries to get a link between Al Qaeda and drugs, it is necessary to understand that Columbians are involved in their own reign of terror. It is not Islamic fundamentalism, but it is terrorism. There are recent commercials that show a kid smoking a joint, and then show the dealer, then the distributor who gets blown up in the end. So there's definitely a link. You're supporting some of the worst criminals in the world.

*Do the recent corporate scandals suggest a larger societal lack of ethics and morals?*

Sure—fast and loose. Historians tell me and Tom Wolfe has pointed out that we're usually in more trouble not when we're more desperate but when things are great. Economically, when the pot is boiling over, we have more trouble because people play fast and loose and don't pay a lot of attention. Look, you know, the soul of a man is a complex thing, and in worse times it tends to hunker down, come level, and behave better than in boom times, which are more troubling.

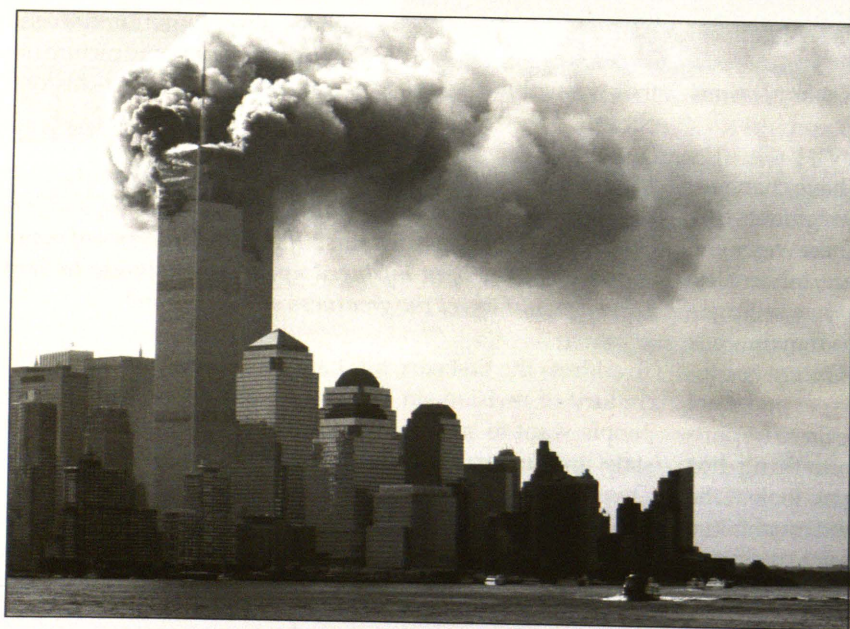
So yes, I think there is a big problem. I've been asked to talk about this a lot in the last few months, to forecast the future. It's an issue of personal responsibility, and people are accountable, you bet. It's a serious matter.

*What are going to be the major issues of the 2002 elections?*

I think it will be war—Iraq. And then the economy second.

*Do you think this will be advantageous to the Republican Party?*

I think so, but people tend to look to the President on this issue, and they don't tend to think of their senatorial and congressional positions at this level. So it's very hard to say. I don't think Bush will suffer the losses presidents generally do at their midterms.

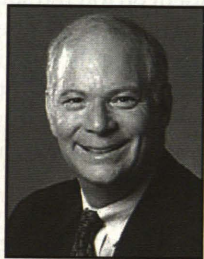




# DISTORTING THE MARKETS

## THE VICTIMIZATION OF THE U.S. STEEL INDUSTRY

*By Benjamin J. Cardin*



**T**he United States' steel industry is fighting for its life. We as a nation are at a crossroads: we can decide that maintaining a U.S. steel industry is vital to our national interests, or we can watch it wither and die.

In March, President Bush acted to save the U.S. steel industry. Following a unanimous ruling by the International Trade Commission (ITC) that there had been serious import injury in key U.S. product lines, the President decided to impose Section-201 remedies of up to 30% tariffs on imported steel. The president's decision was an important step in the battle to save the U.S. steel industry.

The current crisis facing the U.S. steel industry has been building for some time. It is important that we understand the history of what has led us to this current situation. Since 1998, 34 U.S. steel producers have filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection. Bethlehem Steel Corp., which employs some 3,800 workers at its Sparrows Point facility in Maryland, reported a net loss of some \$97 million in the first quarter of 2001 and some \$118 million in the second quarter of 2002.

The immediate crisis threatening the U.S. steel industry can be traced to excess foreign steel production and the 1998 Asian and Russian financial crises. At that time, Asian markets dried up and foreign producers - particularly Japan, Russia, Brazil and Korea - began to unload their high inventory of steel in the United States. Since then, these dumped imports, which are highly subsidized by foreign governments, have penetrated the U.S. market by a historic 30%.

It should be noted that the U.S. steel industry is not in crisis because it has failed to be competitive. It is in crisis because of the massive world steel overcapacity, pervasive steel market distorting practices and because the United States has become the world's "steel dumping ground."

The antecedents for this crisis were evident before the steel crisis of late 1990s. There has been a 50-year legacy of foreign government intervention in the steel sector, and this intervention has produced a distorted world steel market and

a global steel industry that is not subject to normal market forces. Its chief legacy is massive world steel overcapacity - approximately 268 million tons in 2000. This world overcapacity is more than twice our domestic demand for steel. The United States is not contributing to this overcapacity. We do not produce enough steel in our country for our own use. In fact, we are a net importer of steel.

As a Congressman from the Baltimore area, I have a particular interest in Bethlehem Steel Corp., which employs many of my constituents in its Sparrows Point facility. Bethlehem Steel is a good example of a U.S. steel company that has done everything right, but that has still been hammered by global market forces.

In 2000, Bethlehem Steel opened a new cold-rolled steel production facility at Sparrows Point. In the last five years, the company has spent some \$900 million to modernize production at this Maryland plant. These modifications have improved yield, quality and delivery time. Yet Bethlehem Steel still cannot compete with highly-subsidized foreign steel that is dumped in this country at prices that are below their costs of production. In October 2001, Bethlehem Steel filed for Chapter 11 protection.

As much as 85% of non-U.S. steel production is either subsidized, cartelized, government-owned or government-controlled. Foreign steel has been one of the most heavily subsidized manufacturing sectors in history, with subsidies totaling more than \$100 billion since 1980. These unfair practices have hit the U.S. steel industry especially hard because the U.S. market is both very large and very open.

For example, in 2001 U.S. steel imports exceeded exports by 23.5 million metric tons. Yet the European Union (EU) and Japan - both of which have steel industries that are no more productive than the U.S. industry - are net steel exporters.



**"The U.S. steel industry is in crisis because of the massive world steel overcapacity, pervasive steel market distorting practices and because the United States has become the world's steel dumping ground."**

During the Section-201 process, the United States was careful to comply with World Trade Organization (WTO) rules. In fact, the remedy announced by the President includes numerous exceptions: our four partners in free trade agreements (Canada, Mexico, Israel and Jordan), 99 developing countries, and nearly 200 steel products not made in the United States. There also is an ongoing process that allows for additional product exclusions if warranted.

We need strong U.S. steel production capability for our national defense and economic security. The U.S. steel industry produces high quality, cost-competitive carbon, alloy, armor plate steels and specialty metals for use by the military in applications ranging from aircraft carriers and nuclear submarines to Patriot and Stinger missiles, tanks, field artillery pieces, and every major military aircraft in production today.

One example is the Deepwater Program for cutters (ships) of the U.S. Coast Guard, which will require about 90,000 tons of military-specification plate and structural steel. We must not become dependent on foreign steel in order to maintain and upgrade the Coast Guard, which is critical to America's homeland security and our ability to disrupt and prevent future terrorist

attacks on American soil.

I agree with the sentiments expressed by President Bush in his address to the United Steel Workers of America in August 2001: "If you're worried about the security of the country and you become over-reliant upon foreign sources of steel, it can easily affect the capacity of our military to be well-supplied. Steel is an important jobs issue; it is also an important national security

issue.

I also agree with the sentiments expressed by former Gov. Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania, Director of Homeland Security, in his testimony on a Section 201 finding to the ITC in September 2001: "We must ... act quickly. I don't need to remind this panel that steel is an essential element of our military defenses - from the transporting of troops to the latest smart weapon technology. When the civilian market is threatened by the glut of foreign imports, the military's capability is put at risk.

The United States must not become dependent on foreign steel just as it has become overly dependent on foreign sources of energy, such as oil. Today we use domestic steel to maintain our critical national infrastructure. The Sept. 11 terrorist attacks on our nation have understandably increased U.S. concerns about the security of our physical infrastructure. Our new homeland security strategy makes it clear that steel is needed to 'harden' existing U.S. infrastructure and installations, and that a strong and viable domestic steel industry is needed to provide immediate steel deliveries when and where required.

Our nation depends on domestic steel to maintain our energy infrastructure (pipelines, power plants); transportation security infrastructure (seaports, railroads, bridges); health and public safety infrastructure (dams, water treatment facilities); and commercial, industrial, and institutional complexes (manufacturing plants, schools, hospitals and government buildings).

While it is entirely appropriate that we act to protect the U.S. steel industry from unfair foreign trading practices, we also have a separate problem that must be faced: namely, 'legacy' costs. The U.S. steel industry cannot survive unless we tackle the problem of legacy costs.

Legacy costs are a direct result of governmental policies of the 1980s and early 1990s. As part of our trade policy, the United States signed Voluntary Restraint Agreements (VRAs) reducing the amount of steel produced. Our trading partners, however, did not follow the United States in reducing steel capacity. A consequence of this decrease in U.S. capacity was a substantial increase in the number of retired steel workers whose pension and health care costs had to be picked up by the steel industry.

Unlike the United States, our trading





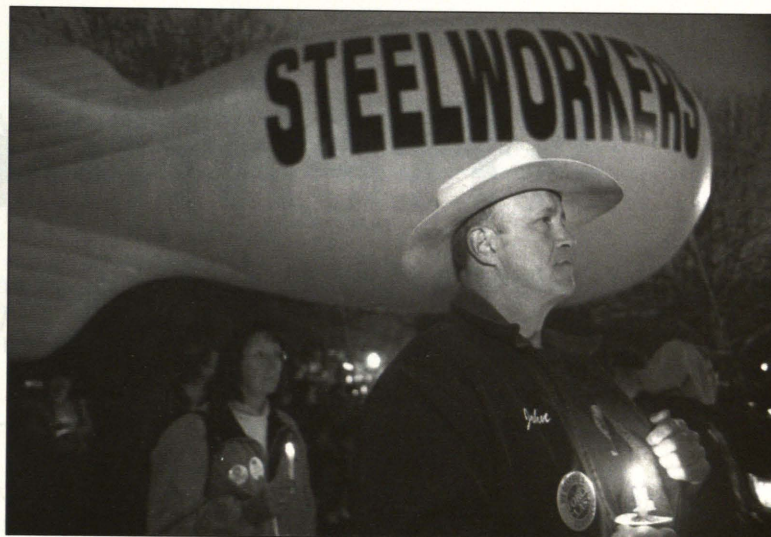
partners pick up the costs of health care for their workers as a social cost. In the United States, these costs must be picked up by business and are included in the cost of production. The end result is that U.S. producers are put at a competitive disadvantage.

These legacy costs are a huge factor in the bankruptcy of some 34 U.S. steel companies. Bethlehem Steel Corporation is a good example of the problem. Bethlehem's current workforce is fewer than 13,000 people, and yet Bethlehem provides health care coverage for 130,000 retirees, employees, and dependents. Of these 130,000, about 95,000 are retiree beneficiaries. This means that, for each active employee, Bethlehem provides health care coverage for more than seven retiree beneficiaries. In 2001, Bethlehem's total cash costs for health care and other insurance amount to \$300 million. The net present value of Bethlehem's legacy benefits, excluding pensions, is \$3 billion. Another aspect of the legacy problem is pension obligations, which currently are underfunded by \$2 billion.

It is important that this Administration and Congress help steel companies deal with these legacy costs. I have co-sponsored the Steel Industry Legacy Relief Act, HR 4646, to provide health care for union and non-union retirees of steel, iron, ore and coke companies, many of which risk losing health benefits because of unfair trading practices. Once enrolled in the program, retirees and their dependents would receive coverage similar to a Medicare-level plan and a prescription drug benefit similar to the Federal Blue Cross/Blue Shield plan.

These health care costs would be funded through a Trust Fund created from several funding sources, including three years of tariffs on steel imports announced by President Bush in the Section-201 proceedings, companies whose retirees are enrolled in a voluntary contribution program, and a \$5 surcharge on steel companies that have acquired other steel companies.

As a member of the Congressional Steel Caucus, I actively support strengthening the U.S. steel industry for the future. In 2001, I joined with Republican Rep. Phil English of Pennsylvania in introducing the Trade Law Reform Act, HR 1988. This bill would make it easier for U.S. industries to prove injury and deal with damaging import surges, it would amend antidumping



AFP

and countervailing duty laws to make it easier for U.S. manufacturers and farmers to secure relief from unfairly traded and subsidized imports and it would establish a steel importation and notification program that to expedite collection, analysis and release of import data.

Saving the U.S. steel industry takes commitment and creativity. In terms of commitment, we have to decide that our steel industry is vital to our nation and that we do not want to be dependent on foreign-produced steel for our needs. There is no question that the U.S. steel industry is under siege from illegally traded imports that are being dumped on our markets. How we deal with this threat will set the tone for all future trading relationships in the 21st Century. If we fail to act, we can watch the U.S. steel industry falter and other U.S. industries come under the same kind of attack.

*Benjamin L. Cardin has represented Maryland's Third Congressional District in the House of Representatives since 1987. He is a member of the Ways and Means Committee, Ranking Member of the Human Resources Subcommittee and a member of the Social Security Subcommittee. He also is a Commissioner of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission). In 2001, he was named by Worth Magazine as among the top "100 people who have influenced the way Americans think about money."*

**"We must not become dependent on foreign steel in order to maintain and upgrade the Coast Guard, which is critical to America's homeland security and our ability to disrupt and prevent future terrorist attacks on American soil."**



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## ANATOMY OF A REVOLT

SOCIAL PROTEST IN VALPARAISO, CHILE

*By Peter J. van Agtmael*

Every May 21, the holiday of Gloriosa Navales is celebrated in Chile, commemorating a naval battle fought against Peru in the War of the Pacific. Although the action was a lopsided loss for Chile (135 Chileans were killed and their ship the *Esmeralda* sunk compared to 1 dead Peruvian and only slight damage to their ship), the battle was a heroic one, and is now an enduring part of national folklore. The day is commemorated with a grand collection of

students) forced the peaceful gathering into a confused and violent clash with the police. When the protest reached the "Plaza Victoria," (most Chilean cities have plazas that dominate their center, adding a dramatic flair to the layout), a group of students who had brought rocks and Molotov cocktails along with them began throwing them at the nervous, riot clad police that were watching. The police reacted instantly, calling in *guanacos* (armored tank-

like vehicles with water cannons and tear-gas launchers on top) to incapacitate the protestors, and then rushing to make arrests. As the legitimate protestors scurried away, more rabble-rousers gathered throughout the city, setting fire to enormous piles of decaying wood and tires, filling the skyline with smoke. From behind the barricades, the delinquents threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at approaching police, and posed and sneered for journalists. Still, the police kept coming, approaching shields-up like a Roman legion, finally extinguishing the blazes and arresting or driving away the troublemakers.

The May 21 protests proved costly. This past year alone, there were hundreds



patriotic events in Valparaiso, Chile's largest port town. The whole government attends, to much fanfare.

Many political, social, student and indigenous groups take advantage of the overwhelming media coverage to protest against the government. This past year, the protest started peacefully. The protestors moved down the main avenue waving hundreds of banners and flags, each pointing out a different government abuse or calling for a social change. Unfortunately, troublemakers (mostly university

of arrests and injuries (mostly from rocks and Molotov cocktails) and millions of dollars in damage to the center of the city. The benefits gained are probably negligible. The next day, most Chilean newspapers merely reported the violence, with barely a mention of the social ills that prompted the protest in the first place. In the end, the damage inflicted on Valparaiso will likely be paid for out of the pockets of the peaceful protestors, all so some students could have a few hours of fun.





**Previous Page:**  
Police in riot gear  
running to arrest  
protestors  
disoriented by  
tear gas.

**Left:** Protestor  
getting arrested.

**Below:** Police  
officers engulfed  
by smoke after  
ing out a fire.







**Above:** Student protestors running away after blowing up an armored police vehicle.

**Right:** Gladys Marin, controversial head of the Chilean Communist Party.







**Above:** A protestor poses triumphantly after helping beat off a police attack with rocks.

**Right:** Police steel themselves for an impending barrage of rocks and Molotov cocktails.







**Top:** Frightened police officers brace themselves before attacking a fiery barricade.

**Above:** The protestors work their way down to the city center.



**Right:** Workers protest the government's human rights record.



# AFRICA'S VICIOUS CYCLE

## EXAMINING HEALTH CARE IN THE THIRD WORLD

*By Pascoal Mocumbi*



**W**e live in a time when world attention is focused on conventional, political and national security matters. I hope that research, logic and the open discussion of our differences will help us turn back all kinds of fundamentalism, terrorism and violence.

We must also reflect on another crisis, however: a crisis of human security for hundreds of millions of people around the world, which is long enduring but largely silent. I speak here about the crisis of ill health and the costs of providing basic health care.

In many countries, including Mozambique, we are caught in a vicious cycle. Ill health is hampering our citizens' productivity and dampening our economic growth. To break this cycle, we must improve people's health. Yet measures to improve the quality and accessibility of health services, other public health interventions such as nutrition programs and sanitation, and health education to foster healthy behaviors and well-being, require increasing financial resources at just the moment when those resources are stagnant or declining in governments and in families.

Many policy makers and implementers like myself are caught in political, social, financial and ethical dilemmas as we struggle to set priorities and make hard choices amongst competing demands and tasks. Well-designed research - not only biomedical, but also socio-economic, behavioral, and political - can help us enormously. Research on health systems will provide tools for better policy definition, as well as appropriate technologies. Such research is the basis for assessment and monitoring, using indicators that objectively measure and promote equity in the distribution and use of resources, performance of the health system, including the quality and accessibility of health services, and the satisfaction of the users.

As examples, I would like to focus on three critical factors that determine health: poverty, gender, and adolescence. The latter are particularly relevant to many countries including my own. One needs to know why there is continuous neglect of these vital areas of concern. What are the reasons for lack of actions in most countries? These are questions that must be answered, both in Mozambique and around the world.

In Mozambique in particular maternal and neonatal disease form the majority of our burden of disease. Our rates of maternal mortality (600-1000 per 100,000) and infant mortality (145 per 1,000 live births) are among the highest in the world. Communicable diseases (malaria, tuberculosis, diarrheal diseases and HIV/AIDS) are our major killers. Malaria cases represent about 48% of all outpatients, and 63% of inpatients, in rural and general hospitals; TB is estimated at 254 per 100,000 inhabitants, and HIV/AIDS estimated prevalence is 12.2%.

Our life expectancy, which is already low, is predicted to go even lower by 2010 due to HIV/AIDS. Similarly, it is feared that our maternal and infant mortality rates will increase 20% by 2005. The majority of our population (58%) is undernourished, and only about one third has access to clean water. Some 60% of the population does not have access to health services. While the overall health conditions are inadequate, there are three groups that suffer disproportionate risk: the poor, women and adolescents.

While disease agents and lack of health care kill people directly, the major killers and sources of morbidity are substantially driven by poverty. This is well known to us and yet poverty is not addressed effectively at either the family or the national level. In Mozambique nearly 60% of people live on less than one dollar a day. Research shows significant disparities in the quality, use, and access to services between rural and urban areas, between educated and uneducated, and between the rich and poor. When the poor are afflicted with any one of our three major killer diseases, their chances of survival are far less than those of the rich.

In Mozambique, we have a major Program to fight poverty, which is expected to fall to less than 50% in 2010 (from 70% in 1997). Our strategy includes the following components:



- Rapid and sustainable economic growth favoring industry and the construction sector, particularly in rural areas.

- Priority for public investment in human capital development, namely education, health, and access to water and sanitation.

- Increasing the productivity of family sector agriculture.

- Development of economic infrastructures in the rural areas.

- Social protection of the most vulnerable groups through programs for assistance and social security.

- Promotion of jobs and self-employment.

- Better institutional and technical capacity-building in areas of monitoring and assessing poverty, policy analysis, and research to gain better understanding of poverty and identify the best strategies for fighting it.

In Mozambique, as in many other places, being born female is a major risk factor cutting across, and even outweighing, poverty. Only girls and women directly bear the health burden related to pregnancy and contraception. Biologically, girls and women are more vulnerable to, and suffer more devastating consequences from, sexually transmitted diseases than boys and men. In our region, HIV/AIDS is considered a "disease of girls and women." Gender-based violence is endemic and even condoned. Our health services fail girls and women terribly. In my country, as in too many others, only 40% of births take place in health facilities. Many women die or suffer severe injury in childbirth or from unsafe abortions. Worldwide, we face the shame of 800,000 maternal deaths per year and uncounted millions of severe injuries related to pregnancy. Of these, 13% are due to botched abortions. In Maputo, Central Hospital, 44% of admissions in the gynecology ward are adolescent girls with complications of unsafe abortion. Contraceptive prevalence is only 10 percent, and STDs, though widespread, go largely untreated. These facts have been with us for a while, but with little international resolve to support countries facing these unacceptable and deplorable situations, significant progress cannot be made.

Finally, being an adolescent is an increasingly serious risk factor, though adolescents are generally believed to be healthy. Here

again, lack of information and education about sexuality and reproductive health, lack of access to health services, and lack of control over their own sexuality and reproduction make adolescents highly vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS. In Mozambique, 37 percent of 16 year olds alive today will die of HIV/AIDS before they reach the age of 30. Our recent learning exchange with Nigerian NGOs and government officers illuminated how little we know about the behaviors, concerns and needs of our young people in the face of this terrible threat, and how much we need to learn about effective program strategies.

The interaction between poverty, gender and adolescence is utterly devastating. For example, the rate of HIV infection in adolescent girls, especially those who are poor, is twice that of boys of their age, in part because many of these young women engage in sex without any protection. Some are forced, physically or by economic need, into sex with older, sexually experienced men - as husbands or commercial sex clients. Another example is the desperately poor, rural, often uneducated adolescent girl who, following custom and tradition, marries at age 14 and becomes pregnant for the first time. She will almost certainly die in childbirth because of lack of access to health care and safe delivery services.

We face vast gaps in knowledge about people's existing health practices, the obstacles they face, and the efficacy of interventions to improve their health conditions. For example, we need to learn how to provide our citizens with effective information when, even in urban areas, only 58% of men and 27% of women are literate, and about 70% of the people live in rural areas isolated from media and other modes of public communication. We need to know more about their existing sources of health information, their beneficial and harmful beliefs and practices, and how to deliver information that will be trusted and used.

In order to provide health services for all of our citizens, we need to know more about why they currently do and do not use services. In order to design effective national policies and delivery systems, we need to



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**"Measures to improve the quality and accessibility of health services require increasing financial resources at just the moment when those resources are stagnant or declining in governments and in families."**



**"We can only achieve just societies, and an equitable and peaceful global community, if we break the silence surrounding gross inequities in access to health information and care, and the devastating imbalances in health research resources."**

learn more about barriers to access. Across all these elements, we need to learn specifically about gender differentials in knowledge, behaviors, practices, skills and resources, and about the special needs of adolescents.

In a democracy as a Prime Minister I have had to build public support. We need far better data to persuade finance ministers and our legislatures to increase investments in health information, education and services, including not only cost/benefit ratios, but also analyses of the relationships between health, productivity, and economic development. We need applied research to determine the effectiveness and impacts of specific programs. For example, what strategies should one use to provide sexual education that actually improves the knowledge and affects the behavior of young people?

One normally neglected area of research is traditional practices. We need to understand these practices and try to use their knowledge to achieve good health standards. Biomedical, anthropological and other social research have essential roles in the search for local solutions for problems that are global. For example, strategies for malaria control could incorporate published research findings about tropical forest plants with repellent effect. These plants can be cheaper, more sustainable, and easier to use than higher tech approaches based on imported commodities.

Resources are, of course, an essential tool to accomplish our task, but they are both limited and poorly distributed. Developing countries are already hard-pressed to maintain their budgetary allocations for health services, let alone health research.



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In Mozambique, public expenditure on health represents 6 percent of GDP and only a small fraction (less than one percent) is allotted for health research. But what will be important for us is to review what percentage of the limited available resources is being allotted for research on the highest problem areas. For example, if maternal and neonatal conditions are the largest contributors to our mortality and morbidity, then are we spending proportionate resources to see how these conditions can be improved?

Having understood the role that research

plays in health development and the need for skilled local research capacity, my country has undertaken significant investments in research capacity since independence in 1975. We established a forum (Jornadcs Nacionais de Saude) in which health professionals can present and discuss their research findings and experiences every two years. Parallel to this promotional initiative, we have invested our limited resources in the development of several institutions. These include the National Institute of Health, which responds to basic community health problems, such as malaria and communicable diseases. We have strengthened the CRDS (Centre Regional de Development Sannitaire) with emphasis on training in research methodology and management of health programs. In 2000, we created the Ministry of High Education Science and Technology in order to promote collaborative investigation among international, regional and national investigation Centers.

Mozambique is also part of numerous international research networks to better understand our struggle with public health issues. South Africa, Mozambique, Uganda and Sweden have started a rewarding networking initiative for reproductive health research and exchange of information aimed at reducing maternal and neonatal mortality. This network, called SAMOUSA, has held very useful and fruitful workshops to exchange ideas on management principles and research results. With India, China, and Sweden, we are involved in a global initiative that encompasses gender, health and poverty. This initiative includes research and could also be very helpful for the development of gender-sensitive policies, plans and programs to fight against HIV/AIDS.

Creating human and health security is a fundamental requirement for national security in the 21st century. We can only achieve just societies, and an equitable and peaceful global community, if we break the silence surrounding gross inequities in access to health information and care, and the devastating imbalances in health research resources. But breaking the silence is not enough. We must act strongly and together. Research has a vital role to play, to contribute to the solution of the present, to anticipate, predict and prevent problems in the future.

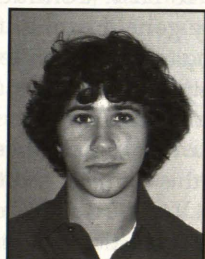
*Pascoal Mocumbi has been the Prime Minister of Mozambique since 1994. He is the former Minister of Health, and a board member of the International Women's Health Coalition.*



# THE PATH TO DEMOCRACY

## REBUILDING EL SALVADOR AFTER TEN YEARS OF CIVIL WAR

*By Sam Asher*



Fifteen years ago, El Salvador and its gruesome civil war were front-page news in the U.S. Then in 1992, after a preliminary conference in New York, the guerrilla fighters and the government signed the momentous Chapultepec Peace Accords, effectively ending over

ten years of civil war. Two years later, in what was called by many the "elections of the century," the country held its first ever peaceful, free elections. And El Salvador, seemingly out of the woods, almost entirely dropped from the American public's radar screen. But the war was far from over then, and even now El Salvador's transition to democracy and resolution of the issues underlying the civil war are far from complete.

This summer, ten years after the peace accords, I had the opportunity to spend a month in El Salvador, investigating the political situation in a way not possible in New Haven. By speaking with many Salvadorans, from different walks of life, I attempted to gain a grounded perspective on the political situation. One immediately apparent reality was just how political the country is; every taxi driver I met had ready a ten-minute speech on how to fix the problems of El Salvador.

It is not necessary, however, to speak with a single person to realize that the wounds of war are not yet healed. Demonstrating ex-fighters regularly make headline news in their attempts to wring money and better living conditions from the government that promised so much at the end of the war. But the government has been slow to pay those who fought in the war, be they ex-guerrillas or government soldiers.

Not surprisingly, the unresolved issues run far deeper than uncompensated fighters. The causes of war were myriad, but deficiencies in economic opportunity and political accessibility were the central justifications used by the guerrillas in waging their bloody 12 year campaign. Government oppression exacerbated both problems to an unacceptable degree.

The centerpiece of my research was a series of four in-

terviews with political figures on the left. Each man I interviewed had participated in the war, and all had been vocal in their condemnation of the economic and political realities of El Salvador. From them I hoped to measure the progress El Salvador had made. I was somewhat surprised to hear the same complaints from all four of the same injustices that were supposed to have ended with the peace accords.

Facundo Guardado was a commander in the guerilla army before becoming a deputy in the national legislature. In the last presidential election, he garnered 29% of the vote as the candidate of the FMLN, the guerilla organization that turned into the leading leftist party with the Chapultepec Accords. Paying little attention to my questions regarding the war, he jumped right into the major problems with El Salvador today:

"Our country cannot move forward without addressing the fundamental problems. The '92 agreement ended the war, and democratized the Constitution, but it did not deal with a number of the major concerns...public security, while improved, is not adequate for a functioning democracy...people lack basic services like clean drinking water...and the government is still operating with an agenda that concentrates wealth in the hands of a few."

Ruben Zamora, the FMLN's presidential candidate in the 1994 elections, concurred that the peace agreement was not adequate to solve El Salvador's problems. "The peace accords were basically an instrument to end the war and authoritarian rule, and to start the journey towards democracy. They did not end the underlying political and economic causes of the war." Asked whether these problems still existed, Zamora responded "politics has gone down the road of greater inclusion while economics has contin-



**"Oppression by the police, for example, is no longer the norm. But basic rights are still not ubiquitous, and the security forces, like other parts of the government, do not always look to serve the people."**

ued its trajectory of exclusion. But that is not to say that our political system adequately inclusive or dedicated to serving the people."

Another figure I interviewed, Eduardo Linares, also saw a mixture of progress and backwardness. As director of the Cuerpo de Agentes Municipales, the primary police force of San Salvador, Linares said that "we have made progress. Oppression by the police, for example, is no longer the norm. But basic rights are still not ubiquitous, and the security forces, like other parts of the government, do not always look to serve the people."

After going over all of the interviews, I realized how similar the men sounded. They returned repeatedly to the basics of economic and political rights. Has El Salvador really advanced so little since the war that the opposition is fighting the same battles, despite peace accords, free elections and ten years? Or are these leftist politicians simply stuck in the rhetoric of the war years?

The economic and political facts shed some light on this question. To be certain, progress has been made in some very real ways since the end of the war. According to U.N.D.P. statistics, infant mortality has fallen from 41 to 35 deaths per 1,000 live births, and illiteracy has dropped from 30 percent to 17 percent of the population. On the other hand, El Salvador is still a desperately poor country. Sixty percent of the population lives in poverty. The distribution of wealth is among the most unequal in the world: the top quintile

earns 18 times more each year than the bottom quintile. And the overall economy, though it has improved somewhat as the result of neo-liberal economic policies, relies heavily on the \$1.9 billion that expatriated Salvadorans send home in remittances every year.

This economic situation has helped to produce a populace wary of its government. To see this, one must look no further than voter participation. In 1989, participation among voting-age population (VAP) in the elections was 41%. In the elections of 1994, buoyed by a revised constitution and the end of the war, this figure had risen to 53%. Confidence, however, has only gone downhill from there. Continuing a trend established by the 1999 presidential elections, the 2000 municipal elections witnessed the lowest VAP in over a decade: an abysmal 34%. Not only is this figure a one-third drop from the 1994 VAP, but it is 7% lower than the last prewar elections, when intimidation and ballot stuffing were the norm.

In addition to the economics, where many Salvadorans have seen little change since the end of the war, another major factor serves to keep confidence in government low. Political memory dies hard, and many more years will pass before the civil war, which left an estimated 75,000 dead, is no longer a dominant part of the nation's psyche. Perhaps no one knows this better than Eduardo Linares, who has worked hard to defy the Salvadoran tradition of police brutality. After assuming his position, Linares set out to root out corrupt officers and offered a new tone of professionalism. "It's an issue of overcoming history and memory. The police in this country have traditionally been oppressive, looking to hold down the people. The hardest part of my job is to turn that image around."

Changing the old ways, however, cannot alone change public opinion and increase confidence. According to Rene Canjura, the ex-guerilla fighter and current mayor of the poor San Salvador suburb Nejapa, "The people must be able to see that their government is working for them. How else will they know? That's why I have an open door at the mayor's office. I want my constituency to be able to see what's taking place, how we are working to improve Nejapa." And it has worked; with public support that he calls



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"absolutely crucial," Canjura has entered into a business relationship with a Coca-Cola bottling company, has built a marketplace and is about to finish construction of a public athletic complex for the youth.

Internal functioning of government is yet another area where progress has failed to meet expectations. Judicial reform in particular has recently been the subject of scholarly and international attention. Perhaps more than any other government institution, the judiciary represented the many injustices committed during the war. Not only did it consistently fail to defend human rights, but it often condemned those who tried to speak out against the government's abuses. Hard to reform, perhaps because it is so detached from the people, the Salvadoran judiciary has made progress, though largely due to international efforts led by the United States. It has yet to be seen whether the changes will persist if international support lags.

More relevant to the day-to-day workings, greater cooperation among different levels of the government is needed before the government is better able to serve its constituency. As Canjura told me, "The municipalities are more or less abandoned by the national government. We must make do on our own because there is not a well-established, working relationship between local and national governments." Party animosity only exacerbates the issue. As the left gains an increasing number of municipalities, tensions with the right-wing national government have risen to the surface. One example of this is in the capital, San Salvador, where Mayor Hector Silva has been working for years to reorganize the public transportation system, which consists of countless privately run buses. Last year, ignoring the municipality's efforts, the Vice-Ministry of Transportation de-

clared its own plans for San Salvador's bus system in what seems to be an attempt to steal some of Silva's thunder, thereby reducing his prospects in the 2004 presidential election. Virtually no improvements have been made in untangling the inefficient web of buses since.

The Chapultepec Accords put El Salvador on the path away from authoritarianism and war, and toward democracy and progress. In some ways, like civil rights, the tiny Central American nation has made enormous strides in the last decade. In other areas, namely the interrelated issues of economic opportunity and political inclusion, improvement has not been significant, or significant enough to overcome so many years of violence, repression and government policy aimed more at hurting than helping the people. This unfortunate situation leaves El Salvador torn between a horrible past and a future that, while full of potential, is far from certain.

*Sam Asher is a junior in Jonathan Edwards College. He is the International Editor of The Politic.*



*Facundo Guardado celebrates his election as the new leader of the FLMN in 1999.*

**"The overall economy relies heavily on the \$1.9 billion that expatriated Salvadorans send home in remittances every year."**





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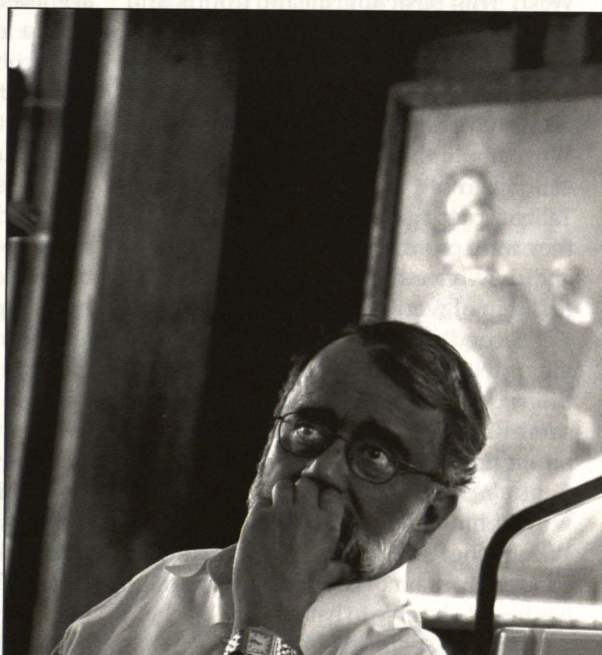


# REBUILDING AFGHANISTAN

## THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN CENTRAL ASIA

*An interview with Ahmed Rashid*

Ahmed Rashid is a journalist based in Lahore, Pakistan. He is the Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Central Asia correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review and the Daily Telegraph, and also writes for the Wall Street Journal. Rashid's most recent book, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*, explores how the concept of jihad is misunderstood in the West and misused by militant Islamic groups in Central Asia. Rashid's previous book, *Taliban* (published by Yale University Press), reached number one on the New York Times bestseller list and has been translated into more than twenty-five languages. On September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2002, Rashid sat down with The Politic.



PETER J. VAN AGTMAEL

**The Politic:** *There has been a diminishing presence of Afghanistan and the reconstruction effort in the American press. Has the American media done a good job of covering the war or have they failed in informing American people? Has the foreign media done a better job?*

Ahmed Rashid: I think the American media did a very good job on the war. They covered the war extremely well. Some newspapers have tried very hard to keep Afghanistan on the front page. What is entirely missing in the U.S. media is the present role of the U.S. in Afghanistan, of which I am very critical, and the debate which is going on in the wider world about America's role in Afghanistan. There is this whole issue of peacekeepers, reconstruction, and getting policy out of the hands of the Pentagon and putting it into the State department and the Treasury department or perhaps USAID or other agencies. These debates are going on very heatedly in the European press and in the regional press. They are missing, apart from the odd op-ed, from the American press. I

haven't seen a story in the U.S. press explaining how and why the U.S. is continuing to back warlords at the expense of the central government in Kabul? Yes you needed the warlords to fight the Taliban and Al Qaeda, but that period is gone now. Why is the U.S. still paying the salaries of the warlord armies? No U.S. paper has exposed this or talked about this. Why has U.S. aid been so minimal as compared to the military budget? You will see these types of discussions in the European papers. There has been an effort, but key points relating to the U.S. role have been missing. The other major point is that 9/11 has led to greater awareness by the media of

their responsibility to make Americans more aware of foreign affairs. This surely should have been the responsibility of the media. I think the dumbing down of America over the last 10 years as far as foreign policy is concerned has been disastrous and has led to a whole heap of failures for the U.S. The fact that policy is defined by a few people on the East coast in think tanks, the Administration, and perhaps some large corporations, whereas the U.S. public is completely ignorant is disappointing. I just spent a week in the States and have found that it is impossible to find any news on American news stations. The fact that the majority of Americans get their news from television and the fact that television is not providing foreign news is depressing.

**Your book, *Taliban: Militant Islam, Oil, and Fundamentalism in Central Asia* only covers the region until shortly before September 11. If you were to add another chapter or a new forward to your book what would you include?**

I think several things are missing. I think the West in general and the U.S. in particular has failed Afghanistan. There were



**“Restructuring the situation in the Middle East without dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli issue is completely pointless. That is the primary problem in the Middle East and that is what makes Arabs on the street so resoundingly anti-American.”**

basically two pledges made at the end of this war. The first was that there would be a security force to stabilize the country, and peacekeepers outside Kabul. That has not happened. All we have are 5000 peacekeepers inside Kabul, but nobody in the other five cities. The other is the slowness in getting reconstruction funds. The whole basis of the Bonn Agreement in December was that the Karzai government would be made as broad-based as possible and installed in Kabul. But the resources for the Karzai government to be able to expand its authority across the country would depend on the support which came from the West. This basically meant troops and peacekeepers and secondly money to be able to build and show Afghans that there was going to be change in their lives. Afghans have not had a change in their lives. Why should they continue to support the U.S. and not be under the influence of Taliban propaganda right now? Because they were promised a change in their lives and they have not seen it. So, that is the first thing I would write about.

Secondly, the most important issue for me in the region is what you have in all the neighboring countries around Afghanistan. Right now there is an enormous domestic political fervent in Pakistan, the five Central Asian republics, and even in Iran with which the U.S. has no relations. Where the U.S. has not been strategic enough and has not been visionary enough has been to be able to balance the War and the fact that it needed bases and military support from all these countries, but it should not have been at the cost of allowing all these autocratic regimes to perpetuate themselves in a way that would exacerbate their own crises. So today you have a political crisis in Pakistan, you have a mass movement going on Kyrgyzstan, you have new political forces emerging in Kazakhstan which are questioning the President, and you have an underground movement in Turkmenistan which is about to overthrow the President. The U.S. is being seen as being on the side of repression and dictatorship rather than being on the side of democracy.

*What steps can the United States government take to change this perception while at the same time ensuring that the War Against Terrorism and the war in Afghanistan are a success?*

You must have a multi-dimensional policy. Unfortunately, what you have had since 9/11 has not been. The war in Afghanistan is now over. What is needed is a much more multi-dimensional policy that does not emphasize purely the military aspect of the war. But unfortunately what you are seeing in Washington is that the Pentagon is dominating decision making, on at least this neighborhood, and that the Pentagon's needs dominate all U.S. policy. That is not the case anymore. The war is over, and now it is a mopping up operation against the remnants of the Taliban and Al Qaeda. What you need is to be able to get other agencies of the U.S. government into action to look at human rights, democracy and economic aid and to be able to shape that in a form which puts pressure on these very autocratic leaders in the region to carry out democratic and economic reforms. Essentially, U.S. policy in this region has not changed since December when the war ended. We are now nine months away from December and an enormous amount has happened in this region and there is an enormous political fervent in this region. But the U.S. has to show more flexibility in adapting its policies as time goes by.

*Do you believe firmly that there is a significant chance of turning Afghanistan into a viable nation state, despite two decades of war and what you describe as a poorly thought out U.S. policy? Do you think U.S. public opinion will continue to support a reconstruction effort in Afghanistan, particularly if we go to war with Iraq?*

Iraq is going to distract enormously from Afghanistan. The war against terrorism and the continued base for terrorism is really in Afghanistan, Pakistan and that region. It is not necessarily Iraq. If the focus shifts to Iraq there will not be the resources, the manpower, or the inclination of the U.S. to help rebuild Afghanistan. Afghanistan is hugely able to rebuild itself with some support. Ninety-nine percent of the population wants peace and stability, wants to live as normal human beings, wants to educate their children, wants jobs, wants all the rest of it. They have been through 23 years of war and they suddenly know what suffering is all about. Yes, there is a small minority in Afghanistan which doesn't: the warlords and the remnants of



the Taliban and Al Qaeda. But they are a very small minority. I think that if the central government was given the tools it could help expand its authority and build institutions. They are building the state from scratch. They don't have a judiciary, they don't have courts, they don't have a postal service for God's sake. There was that film by Kevin Costner about post-nuclear war America where the only thing that remains is the U.S. Postal Service. Afghanistan has not had a postal service in 15 years. I mean these are things that need to be rebuilt, things that will not cost the earth. If you look at the figures, the U.S. since December has given \$300 million dollars in aid to Afghanistan, it is spending a \$1 billion a month in the military effort in Afghanistan, it is completely disproportionate, and has come under a lot of criticism in recent weeks by the UN, the EU, and the Afghan president.

**Who should be leading the reconstruction effort? Should it be the United States, the United Nations, or should Non-Governmental Organizations take the lead?**

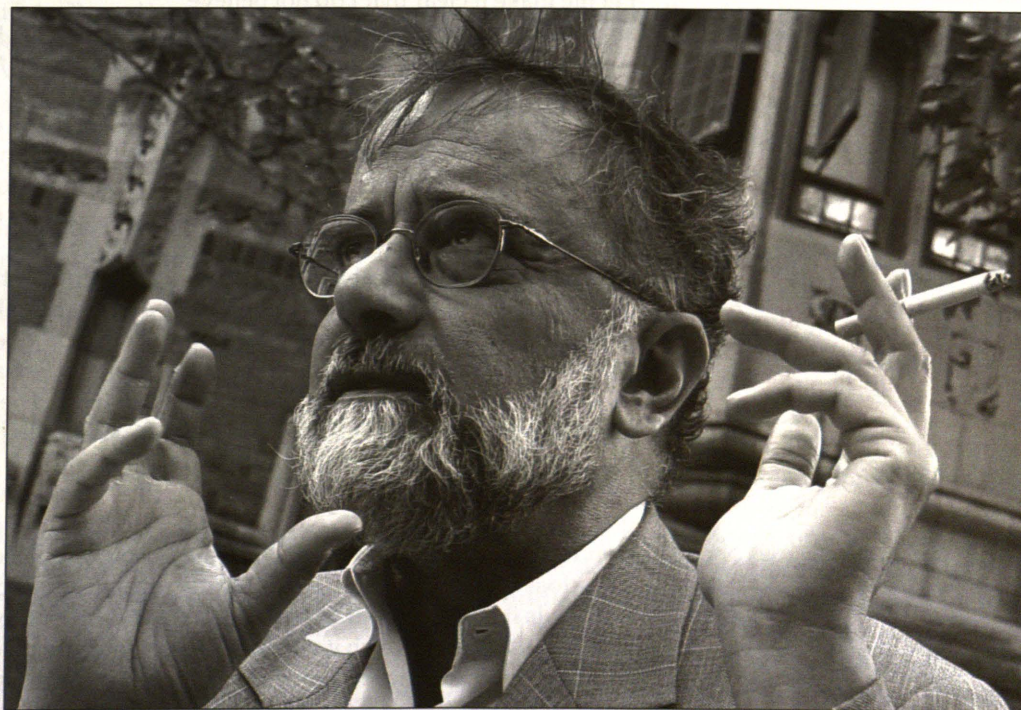
The Afghan government, weak as it is, should be leading the effort. Obviously it needs enormous backup, and the backup should come from the United Nations. My point about the U.S. is that it is very important to demonstrate to Afghans and the wider Muslim world that the U.S. can bomb but that it can also build. That Muslim states are not just the target of U.S. anger which is very much the perception in the Muslim world but that in the case of Afghanistan that the U.S. is willing to rebuild the country. I think that rebuilding Afghanistan is enormously important for whatever the U.S. wants to do in Iraq because the whole deal with Iraq is not getting rid of Saddam Hussein. The difficult part is what is going to come after Saddam, and how is the U.S. going to shape the future government in Baghdad. The example of Afghanistan is not very

inspiring to anyone, least of all the Europeans. One of the problems the U.S. has had with the Europeans with its policy towards Iraq is that there simply has not been a U.S. leadership role in Afghanistan, to get the money, to get the aid, to provide the peacekeepers, etc. If this is what the U.S. is going to do in Iraq, if it is going to bomb and walk away leaving the reconstruction to someone else, then I don't think that it is a very inspiring option.

***If there is a power vacuum in a post-Saddam Iraq, what does this mean for the stability of the Middle-East, particularly if Iran fills the vacuum or if there is increased regional conflict?***

The concept underlying the attack on Iraq is that you can restructure the whole middle east region by bringing about a democracy in Iraq. This is the concept at least that is being advocated by Donald Rumsfeld and Paul Wolfowitz and some of the strategic policy makers in Washington. Restructuring the situation in the Middle East without dealing with the Palestinian-Israeli issue is completely pointless. That is the primary problem in the Middle East and that is what makes Arabs on the street so resoundingly anti-American. That is what is fueling anti-Americanism, anti-Westernism, and is corollary to this anti-democracy, because democracy is equated by many Muslims

**"I think the West in general and the U.S. in particular has failed Afghanistan."**



PETER J. VAN AGTMAEL



**"The U.S. now has military bases in Central Asia for the first time in history where there are enormous oil and gas resources. Clearly, this is going to become part of the U.S. agenda in the region. I don't think that this was a *raison d'être* of the war but it is logically going to be part of the U.S. strategic vision for this part of the world."**

as America. Now, I would love to see democracy flower in the Middle East and I think that it is vital that it does. I don't think you can have peace in the Middle East until it does and until some of these Arab autocrats move towards democratic reforms. But the fact is that what is happening is that the anti-Americanism is also leading to the very dangerous trend where any kind of moral or political virtues being espoused by the U.S. are suspect. So you have to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli question. I think there is going to be enormous fallout from the war in Iraq, and there does not seem to be adequate discussions within the U.S. media or Congress about what follows. The Administration has not come up with anything about what they might do and has only talked about these Iraqi exiles. These Iraqi exiles are basically a bunch of people who are very alienated from their own countrymen. They haven't been there, they are not going to be able to get the support of 90% of Iraqis. There are huge ethnic and religious issues in Iraq that have to be tackled.

*One of the focuses of your book on the Taliban and Afghanistan is the strategic importance of oil and natural gas in the Central Asian region. What will the implications be of an increased U.S. presence in terms of this strategic issue?*

Let me make it clear that I do not believe as some conspiracy theorists here in America believe that the U.S. went into Afghanistan because of oil and gas pipelines. The U.S. went into Afghanistan because 3000 people were killed in New York and Washington and there was a terrorist threat that was very evident to people like me years ago which the U.S. was not taking seriously. As a consequence of this action, the U.S. now has military bases in Central Asia for the first time in history where there are enormous oil and gas resources. Clearly, this is going to become part of the U.S. agenda in the region. I don't think that this was a *raison d'être* of the war but it is logically going to be part of the U.S. strategic vision for this part of the world. How the U.S. does this is also going to be very critical. Is it going to do it in a rapacious unilateralist way in which it will increase tensions between other big powers interested in oil and gas of Central Asia like

China, Russia, and Iran or is it going to do it in a framework of cooperation so that trade linkage and economic benefits can flow to the people of this region? If it is going to do it in a state of competition with these powers then these nations which are already very fragile are going to be divided and polarized and eventually there will be factions siding with Russia, siding with America, siding with China. If it does it in a spirit of cooperation then there will be enormous economic benefits for the people of the region. So it is not just a question that the U.S. interest is going to be logically very strong as far as these resources are concerned. But more importantly, how is it going to exploit these resources?

*What are your inclinations as to future U.S. action? Do you think that they will take a unilateralist approach or will they take the road of cooperation?*

Well, at the moment looking at this Administration's policies I am very pessimistic. But I hope better sense will prevail and they will see the benefits of cooperating with other big powers in the region so that there is not a smash and grab for these resources and that it is done equitably as possible for the maximum benefit of the people of the region.

*What are the consequences for the U.S. and the world if the present reconstruction effort in Afghanistan fails? Will another failed nation state give rise to a new breed of fundamentalism?*

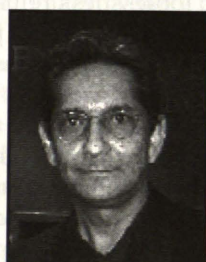
I think there is an enormous danger of that. The point is that Al Qaeda is an underground secretive movement and it has cells in 60 countries. It is being wrapped up now in an intelligence effort around the world. In Afghanistan and on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, Al Qaeda does not operate in secret. It shells U.S. bases, it operates in broad daylight. The remnants of it operate in broad daylight. The current situation is very stark. It operates in secret around the world and operates in daylight in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The conclusion of not doing the right thing in Afghanistan is certainly going to lead to a revival of this fundamentalism and the continuation of highly trained operative bases in the region which will continue to carry out acts of terrorism.



# SOUTH AFRICA TODAY

## THE PERILS OF IGNORING APARTHEID'S UGLY LEGACY

*By Achmat Dangor*



**I**n the run up to the country's first truly democratic election in 1994, the African National Congress (ANC) held a series of consultations on issues ranging from culture to the economy. Ostensibly aimed at "enriching" its policy formulation, the organization was really using

American style focus-groups to test public perceptions about the ANC and to gauge how its transformation from liberation movement to political party would be received.

In a session with non-governmental and trade union leaders on the economy, Trevor Manuel, who was to become South Africa's first "non-white" finance minister (a brave move in itself, the ANC would later learn: for the world outside, a black President was okay, but they preferred a white person to hold the purse strings) responded in a rather peculiar manner to demands that 'retribution' become central to future government thinking.

First of all, the ANC had to accept that it was about to receive a "poisoned economic chalice" from the outgoing regime, and that there was little choice but to accept it and do the best it could with it. Furthermore, an incoming government would have to establish just what the country's "real economy" was and to build on that. Manuel, then still a relatively unknown official in the organization's economic planning unit, was telling a traditionally radical audience that far from doing 'what it takes' to deliver social and economic justice to its own, largely black and working class (or workless, given the high unemployment) constituency, an ANC-led government was actually going to embark on a more cautious, even conservative course.

Perhaps this was just 'clever-Trevor' as one of his critics called him, enunciating another obscure theory that went down well with the World Bank and IMF types. But in the ensuing months, other ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, enlarged on this theme.

Reversing fifty years of systematic dispossession, let

alone three hundred years of deliberate neglect, was not going to happen overnight; blacks could not go on forever blaming their problems on the past. We had to take responsibility for the future, especially when in power.

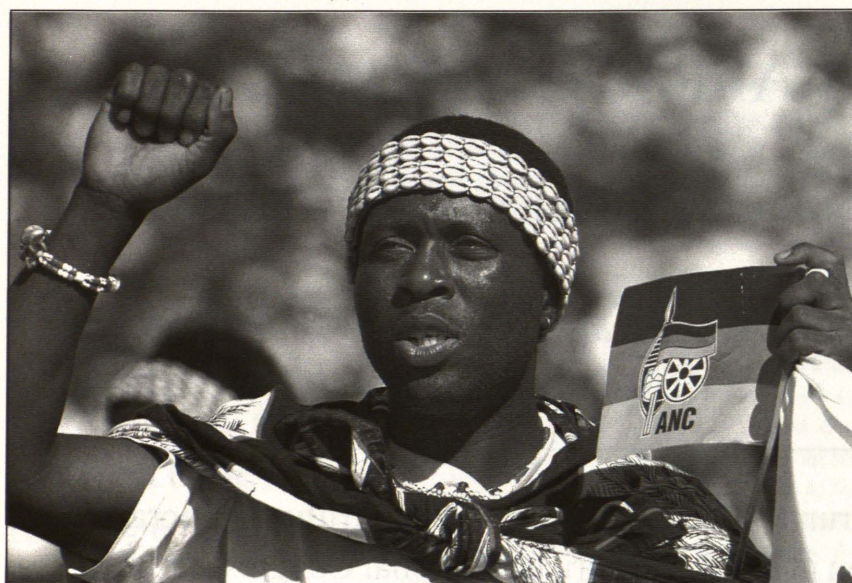
It soon became very unfashionable to talk about apartheid's legacy. To some extent the emerging black elite saw the constant 'harping' about the past as an admission of failure: it reinforced white myths that blacks were incapable of solving problems (and therefore of governing) and that all that the 'previously disadvantaged' could do was wallow in self-pity.

In hindsight, this "acknowledge the past but move on" feeling was less the spontaneous result of a people eager to take on the challenges of the future than a carefully constructed message directed at three disparate, and even competing constituencies:

- Reassuring jittery whites that their assets were safe, thereby preventing capital flooding out of the country (affluent South Africans had over the years perfected the illegal art of expatriating money).
- Continuing to inspire hope in the black majority that real change was imminent while at the same time lowering unrealistic expectations.
- Conveying to the rich, developed countries standing on the cusp of an unbelievable boom that the new South Africa would be forward-looking, and in its economic vision - not just modern but Clintonesquely postmodern - and therefore worth investing in.

It was a brilliant tactic that had Thabo Mbeki stamped all over it. The ANC succeeded in portraying itself as bold, and capable of reconstructing South Africa, while the main opposition, the white-led National Party and





**"The ANC succeeded in portraying itself as bold, and capable of reconstructing South Africa, while the main opposition, the white-led National Party and the more traditional Inkatha movement came across as stuck in the old paradigm."**

the more traditional Inkatha movement came across as stuck in the old paradigm, capable only of tinkering with the same obsolete machinery they had used to run things before.

Ultimately, the principle of finding the true level of South Africa's economic value, which incidentally proved far less than the world had been led to believe, and building on that, translated into a policy framework called GEAR (Growth, Employment And Reconstruction). In essence, it was based on strict fiscal discipline in order to reduce state debt, cut inflation, bring down crippling interest rates and stimulate economic growth through a free market model. Mbeki, then Mandela's deputy and the country's 'manager,' hoped to see the steady growth of sustainable jobs, especially among black youth, the urban working class and the rural poor who had all voted overwhelmingly for the ANC.

The government knew that GEAR was a gamble. It had to get it right the first time, for once the painful 'restructuring' got under way (cutting subsidies to farmers, stopping the use of taxpayers' money to shore up inefficient para-statal, the eventual privatization of everything from electricity supply to telecommunications, road maintenance to garbage removal), there would be no turning back. Adjustments, fine-tuning, was okay, but trying to stop such a vast enterprise would derail it completely.

How has this approach fared since

1994? GEAR's single most important achievement has been to establish financial stability. Inflation is down from its pre-1994 double-digit level, interest rates are still high but one third lower than the crippling twenty percent that previous systems had imposed, and the currency has weathered fierce and relentless pressure. Today South Africa is in many ways a model of financial responsibility, and the foundation for sustainable growth is there.

But it has come at a cost, and may not have bought the government the time it needed to find and 'kick-start' the real economy. Joblessness remains stubbornly high, ranging from 30 percent in urban centers to as high as 70 percent in some rural areas. The country's growth has been static at 2 percent per annum for the past three years. In the crucial mining industry jobs are being lost all the time, reducing income levels to an already impoverished rural underclass heavily dependent on the wages of its male migrant workers. In other sectors, income has been kept low, in line with inflation targets, and the prospect of 'industrial unrest' (an old apartheid euphemism for strikes) looms larger each year. The delivery of social services, education, housing and health care has suffered because of the state's need to maintain strict control over its own spending.

The ANC government's biggest challenge now (apart from the obvious need to defeat HIV/AIDS) is dealing with the slow but relentless erosion of patience among its own supporters. Freedom has not brought the expected benefits; indeed, the inequality between rich and poor (which still largely equates to the difference between black and white) has grown starker. Research by the Southern African Regional Poverty Network, a regional government initiative shows that the real GDP per capita for the poorest 20% in South Africa is \$500 compared to over \$9500 for the richest 20%. Followers question why the ANC, with its overwhelming majority in parliament, and in control of 8 of the 9 Provinces, does not simply jettison those aspects of its financial policy that inhibit greater investment in the poor. In other words, in overcoming apartheid's legacy.



The government is trapped in a vicious cycle of perceptions. If it is seen to relax fiscal restraint, it is seen to be "going down the African road" of spendthrift populism. Foreign investment will dry up, and the economic problem will get worse. Yet the inflow of capital has not lived up to expectations, and to be fair to foreigners, South Africans have not invested vastly in their own economy either, something that New York businessmen are quick to point out.

Something will have to give, as the saying goes, and sooner rather than later. Thabo Mbeki may well have to find another brilliant 'sleight of word' to justify going back on that brave pre-1994 declaration, "Acknowledge the past but act for the future." It has, inadvertently or not, created blind spots in the way government policy is implemented. Let's take a few examples.

**Education:** It is universally recognized that the country's economy must become more competitive, and that this will require an educated workforce with skills concentrated in technology, mathematics and the sciences. The government has embarked on a far-reaching and costly reform of tertiary education, including rationalizing the myriad institutions spawned under apartheid in pursuit of a 'separate but equal' goal. Yet the crisis in higher education is the end result of another, more dire situation in primary education. Today, up to 17% of black students will not go beyond level 5 primary school, another 30% will drop out before finishing three years of high school, and failure rates among high school graduate candidates range anywhere from 40 to 60 per cent. The pool of skilled scholars capable of fully benefiting from tertiary reform, therefore, is as low as it was fifteen years ago. Taking a long-term view, South Africa's human capacity problem will never be solved unless the education system is rebuilt from its very foundations. The country's schools are still divided along racial lines, with 70 per cent of the black student population attending poorly equipped and badly run facilities in townships and villages. Investing massively in these institutions would be a direct attack on one of apartheid's most vicious and deliber-

ate acts of discrimination.

**Housing:** State officials estimate that at least 1 million new affordable homes must be built annually to meet the accumulated backlog that has spawned degrading 'informal settlements' all over the country. The government has opted for low cost, mass-housing schemes close to existing black townships, thereby reinforcing the apartheid spatial arrangement. Today, the daily exodus of workers from township to city is as demanding and costly as ever. Opportunities to revitalize inner cities are being lost as are homeownership alternatives offered by incremental, start-up subsidies. Again, tackling homelessness in a way that enhances quality of life would reverse an ancient apartheid mindset that saw blacks as temporary urban sojourners with no right to cultural fulfillment.

**Job Creation:** Black youth have historically been socialized and trained to believe that they will be perennial seekers of the jobs that whites create. Post-apartheid 'job creation' programs have done little to change that perception or its reality. The state today repeats outdated 'community development' models that ignore the extent to which communities have been destroyed as coherent forces under apartheid. It has also pinned its hopes on a 'black empowerment' process that has seen corporate boardrooms gradually becoming darker skinned. Big business, whatever the color on top, seems

**"To be fair to foreigners, South Africans have not invested vastly in their own economy either, something that New York businessmen are quick to point out."**



AFP



**“Opportunities to revitalize inner cities are being lost as are home-ownership alternatives offered by incremental, start-up subsidies. Again, tackling homelessness in a way that enhances quality of life would reverse an ancient apartheid mindset that saw blacks as temporary urban sojourners with no right to cultural fulfillment.”**

as ineffective at creating jobs as ever. A bold initiative to invest in individuals locally would enhance wealth creation within poor communities, thus increasing the chances of employment spillover.

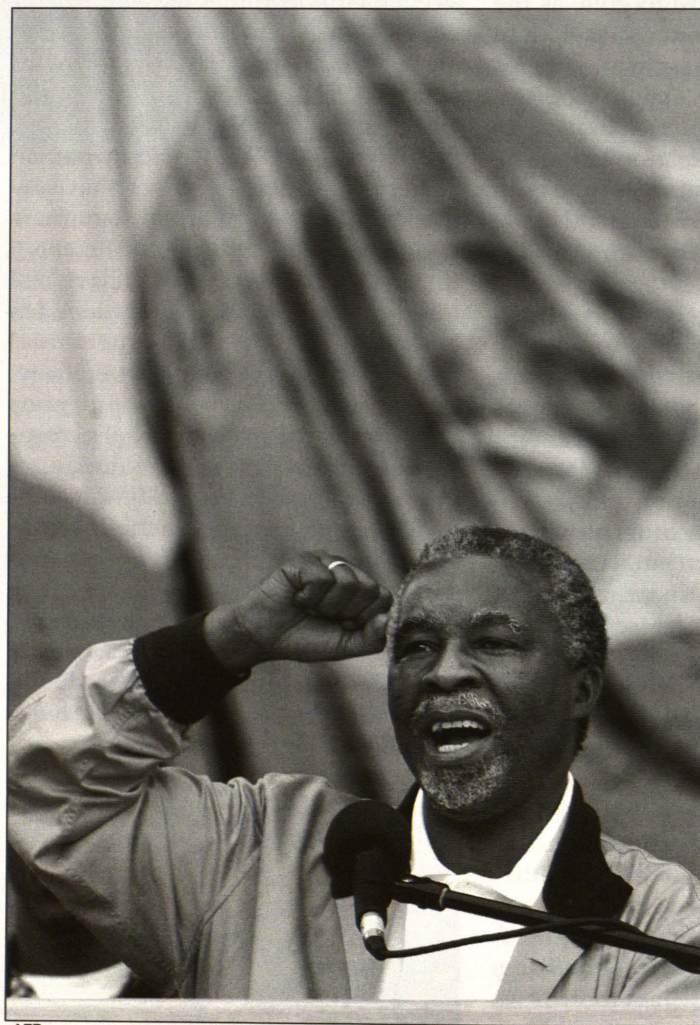
There are many other examples where direct investment in overcoming the apartheid past makes economic and political sense, including diverting resources away from a defense force still geared to meeting external threats into rebuilding the police services that pro-

Cape Town and Durban would not meet everyone's image of the 'viable' city. But carefully planned and well financed, it could raise occupancy, revitalize commerce, for the first time make cities truly part of Africa.

Investing in young entrepreneurs is always risky, but it cannot be worse than the record of consistent failure among current 'micro-enterprise' loan schemes. It will also help people grapple with a psychological barrier that equates making money with

greed, corruption or lawlessness. The Sandton moguls, black and white, may not like the competition, but a few dozen more township millionaires could give meaning to the phrase 'post-Apartheid era.'

*From 1973 to 1986 Achmat Dangor wrote and published numerous short stories and plays, and completed his first novel, "Waiting for Leila," which won the Mfolo/Plomer Prize. In 1986, Dangor was asked to head up the newly formed Kagiso Trust, the largest black-led foundation in the country. He returned to the world of literature in 1992 when he went to the New York's City College Harlem*



AFP South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki addresses supporters

fects civilians.

There are risks, of course. Diverting money away from tertiary to basic education would create the impression that the government was backing away from its pledge to develop a skilled and competitive workforce. But the country is exporting at least 25% of its graduates, mostly white, anyway.

Bringing the black 'aspiring classes' right into the heart of Johannesburg,

*Campus as a visiting professor of literature and creative writing. He has published steadily since then, even though social and economic development has remained a passion. He filled many crucial positions in South Africa, including being the head of Rural Development Forum, CEO of the Independent Development Trust and until recently, Executive Director of the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund and the Nelson Mandela Foundation.*



# POLLING DAY IN AFRICA

## RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

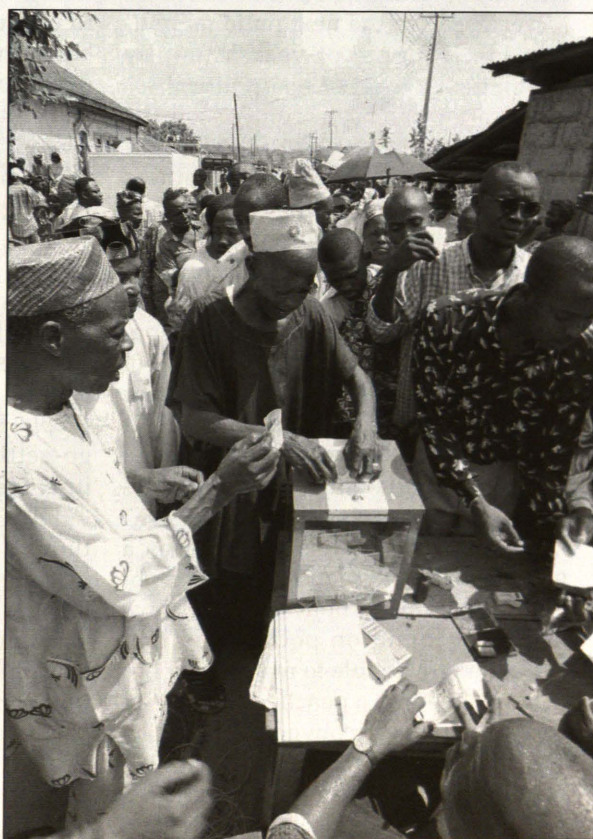
*By Tony Kirk-Greene*

Last academic year, when Chelsea Clinton arrived at Oxford for graduate study, one of the student newspapers carried an interview with a British student who had dated her in the first weeks of term. At the end of the interview the student was asked what they had talked about. All she could talk about, replied the student, was politics – ‘so boring.’

The point of this anecdote is not how it presents Chelsea Clinton, surely a political creature of the most translucent political pedigree seen in Oxford for many years, but rather what it implies about politics in Britain today. As most of Britain’s political class regularly lament, what is beginning to frighten them is the deep apathy for politics, and often antipathy for politicians, in the country, particularly among the younger generation. The number of those who turn out to vote in local and even general elections is dramatically lower than what it was a decade ago. Surveys among high school children and undergraduates on their projected careers rank politicians far below other professions. TV and radio networks dumb down political events in their programs (including news bulletins) before yet more audiences switch off altogether, as has been the case with eve-of-poll ‘political party broadcasts.’

Sebastian Faulks, writing his first novel set in the USA (*On Green Dolphin Street*, 2001), encountered a comparable indifference to politics among the young:

“[Looking at youths playing ball] he wondered if politics meant anything at all to them ... he doubted whether it was of much consequence to anyone beyond the obese



women in pink hats on the convention floor and the sweating union gangsters.”

African politics, ran an early precept of Africanist political scientists, are something very different from just being politics in Africa. Yet, and here lies a paradox, for all the root suspicion among African electorates whether their vote is going to be allowed to make a difference, and despite all the civilian governments swiftly overthrown by military coups, the African voter retains a stubborn faith in the efficacy of the ballot box, and is willing to stand in line under the burning sun or torrential rain for up to ten hours in order to cast his or her vote. In Africa, to vote on polling day remains an act of faith; in England, it shows signs of becoming a chore, not worth the effort.

The whole polling day dynamic is different. Yet in both Africa and England, disillusion with politicians reigns.

Not that disenchantment with politics is anything new; it is only the degree of the malaise. I recall my own dilemma as a schoolboy in 1940 when I suddenly realized that if I won a seat in the House of Commons and became a Cabinet Minister, I could lose that status even if I retained my parliamentary seat if my party carelessly lost the general election. Ten years later I went to Africa, as a civil servant, still holding politicians in minimal esteem. Within a few years I had, like so many of my contemporary administrators in Africa, become more involved (and interested) in elections, the emergence of a new political class, and the slippery art of ministerial government than I ever thought possible in my worst nightmares. The irony was that, in accordance with the



**"The African voter retains a stubborn faith in the efficacy of the ballot box, and is willing to stand in line under the burning sun or torrential rain for up to ten hours in order to cast his or her vote. In Africa, to vote on polling day remains an act of faith."**

British ideal of insulating its civil service from any risk of political contamination, there I was, aged 26, appointed chief electoral officer for an area the size of Pennsylvania, without ever having cast my vote in Britain or even set foot in a polling booth.

The very first political party election I organized in Nigeria was carried out in the simplest of ways. In village after village on polling day, the voters were required to line up behind the candidate of their choice and then I counted out, aloud, the number of votes each had scored. Simple, but not exactly a secret vote. On the next national polling day a couple of years later, by which time a level of real political sophistication had been rapidly acquired by the enthusiastic electorate, a ballot box system was introduced. But it was not a single box for all the votes; rather, it was one box for each candidate. For an electorate still largely illiterate in rural areas, the critical item in identifying which box to place the voting paper in was for many years the symbol chosen by the political parties rather than the name of the candidate. It might be an elephant, a palm tree, a rooster, a bicycle or a hand hoe, depending upon each party's interests.

Twenty years later, when I was a member of an international election observation team in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe in 1980, I found on polling day that every voter was able to mark his or her ballot paper with a penciled cross in accordance with the conventional British voting practice. On the other hand, observing another Nigerian election a year earlier, I noticed that provision still had to be made for any illiterate voters to mark the ballot paper with a thumb-mark from a twelve-hour lasting ink pad. The device was to prevent voting twice. Rumor abounded on many African polling days about what miracle a can of Coke might do for an inked thumb.

The palpable excitement, the infectious enthusiasm, the colorfulness and real sense of occasion that characterize polling day in Africa are things that stick in the mind. A Kenyan student of mine at Oxford once put the same point in a different perspective. I had suggested he walk through the city on Thursday, the conventional day for

polling in the UK, to get some feel of what a British election was like. When he came to me for his tutorial later that afternoon, I asked him how the election had gone. "The whole thing was cancelled," he replied. Surprised, I inquired how he knew. "All the people were going about their business normally and all the shops were open," he said. "I didn't see a single armed policeman, riot squad or water cannon on the streets."

At Oxford last summer, I tutored a student on party politics in Africa. Although he was never fortunate enough to observe African polling days firsthand and to have known African politicians and their political parties from the inside, he could still experience something of the intense, integral excitement of polling day vicariously by reading the political novels written by African authors. These can bring the context and conduct of politicians and electors alike vibrantly and authoritatively alive.

To test this hypothesis, we looked at Chinua Achebe's novel *A Man of the People*. Listen to his description of the go-getting politician Chief Nanga visiting his village constituency:

"As I stood in one corner of that vast tumult waiting for the arrival of the Minister I felt intense bitterness welling up in my mouth. Here were silly, ignorant villagers dancing themselves lame and waiting to blow off their gunpowder in honor of one of those who had started the country off down the slopes of inflation . . . But of course it would be quite useless. They were not only ignorant but cynical. Tell them that this man had used his position to enrich himself and they would ask you if you thought a sensible man would spit out the juicy morsel that good fortune had placed in his mouth."

Or Achebe's account of the legislature in session:

"The Prime Minister spoke for three hours and his every other word was applauded. He was called the Tiger, the Lion, the One and Only, the Sky, the Ocean and many other names of praise . . . I remember the figure of Dr. Makinde the ex-Minister of Finance as he got up to speak – tall, calm, sorrowful and superior. I strained my ears to catch his words. The entire house, in-





cluding the Prime Minister tried to shout him down. It was a most unedifying spectacle. The Speaker broke his mallet ostensibly trying to maintain order, but you could see he was enjoying the commotion. The public gallery yelled down its abuses. 'Traitor,' 'Coward,' 'Doctor of Fork your Mother.' This last was contributed from the gallery by the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* who sat close to me. Encouraged, no doubt, by the volume of laughter this piece of witticism had earned him in the gallery he proceeded the next morning to print it in his paper. The spelling is his."

Or again, the fictitious *Daily Chronicle's* correspondent's acerbic comments on the irrelevance of higher education to the formation of political leadership:

"Let us know and for all time extract from our body politic as a dentist extracts a stinking tooth all those decadent stooges versed in textbook economics and aping the white man's mannerisms and way of speaking . . . Our true leaders are not those intoxicated with their Oxford, Cambridge or Harvard degrees but those who speak the language of the people. Away with the damnable and expensive university education which only alienates an African from his rich and ancient culture and puts him above his own people."

All of these political gems are located within the opening half-dozen pages; numerous further instances can be

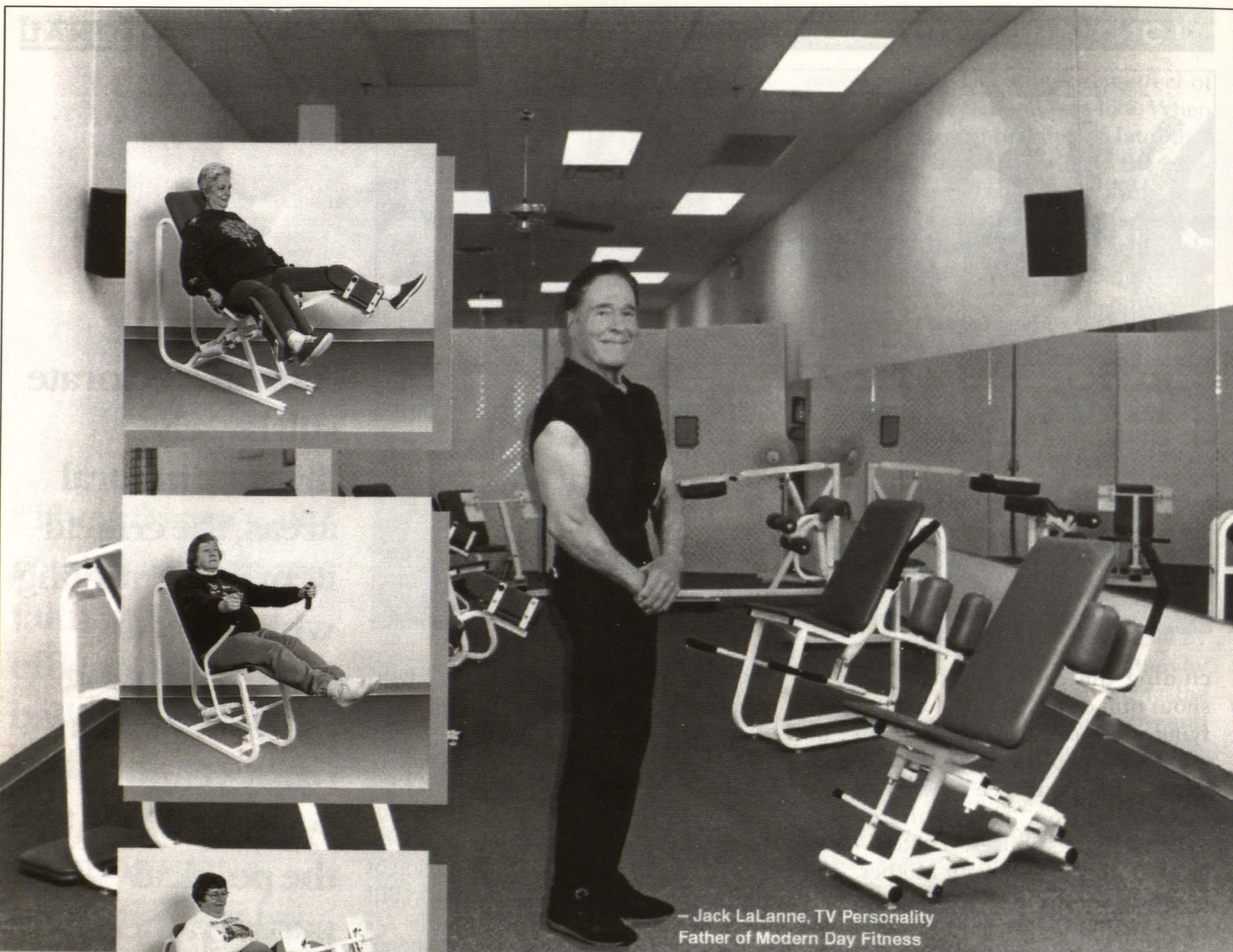
drawn virtually at random throughout the novel.

For me as an African historian, the African novel is an excellent source, allowing the intellectual to publicize his political message. After all, does not Chapter 13 of Charles Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* constitute a major illustration of the political process in pre-Reform Bill England, with its unforgettable account of polling day at Eatanswill? As much as I admire the superb and lasting scholarship of America's pioneering Africanist political scientists such as David Apter, James Coleman, William Foltz, Richard Sklar and Crawford Young, their painstaking research and perceptive theories can be reinforced and at the same time enlivened by reading the political novels of Achebe and others alongside. The Oxford student's mind may have dutifully been in Oxford that morning last May as he read his essay on African politics and *A Man of the People*, but if the truth be told my own mind was right back at polling day in Okene, Oyo or Owerri.

*Dr. Tony Kirk-Greene is an Emeritus Fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford University. He was formerly a Lecturer in the Modern History of Africa at Oxford, and served as an Adjunct Professor for many years at Stanford University. Dr. Kirk-Greene is also the Director of the Foreign Service Programme at Oxford.*

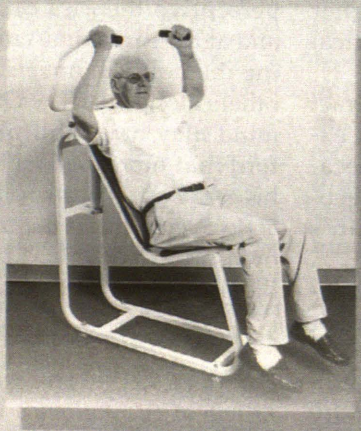
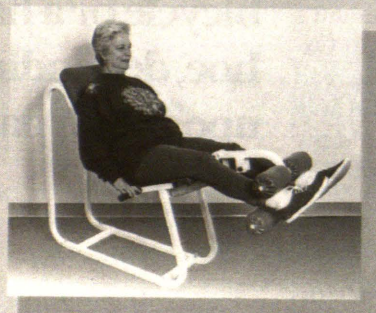
"For an electorate still largely illiterate in rural areas, the critical item in identifying which box to place the voting paper in was for many years the symbol chosen by the political parties rather than the name of the candidate. It might be an elephant, a palm tree, a rooster, a bicycle or a hand hoe, depending upon each party's interests."





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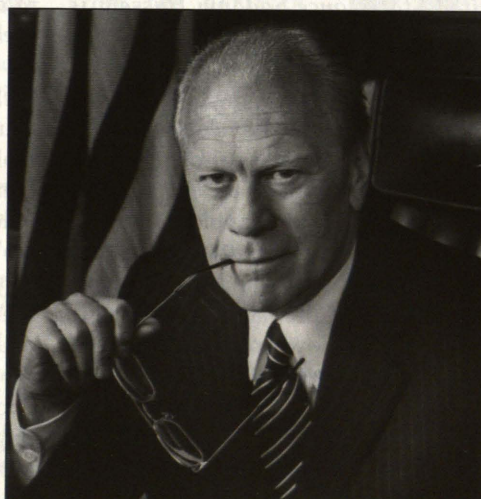
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# THE CHALLENGES OF THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY

A CONVERSATION WITH GERALD FORD

Gerald R. Ford, the 38<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, took the oath of office on August 9, 1974 at a tumultuous and unprecedented time in our nation's history. He had been the first Vice President chosen under the terms of the Twenty-fifth Amendment and, in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal, succeeded the first President ever to resign. A Congressman for 25 years, he was the House Minority Leader from 1965-1973. A 1941 graduate of the Yale Law School, he also served as an assistant football coach and boxing coach at Yale University. On July 25, 2002, President Ford spoke with *The Politic*.



My immediate challenge was to turn the economy around. We tried to do it through tax policies and spending limitations, and if you look at our record over the following two and half years, we succeeded, and were well on the road to economic progress.

*How do you evaluate Bush's performance thus far in the War on Terror?*

I think under the circumstances, President Bush is doing a fine job in meeting the terrorist challenge. Let me take a minute to differentiate between the kind of a challenge President Bush has

*The Politic: As President, you governed over significant inflation and economic recession. What is the role of an executive in shaping the economy and addressing major economic crises?*

President Gerald Ford: Under our system of checks and balances and our system of three fully ordinate branches of government, the President has the authority to do what he can in regards to fiscal policy. Although he has little or no impact on monetary policy, as the head of the executive branch he does have an influence over the federal budget, federal expenditures, income policy, and has the responsibility to do something to keep the economy strong. And of course, working with the head of the Federal Reserve board, the President has the responsibility to do what he can to keep inflation under control, unemployment down, and the tax policy fair.

*What are the challenges of addressing economic crises in such a short tenure? Whether two, four, or eight years, all are quite short when it comes to showing results of good economic policy.*

When I became president in August of 1974, the United States had a serious economic recession—the worst of the post-World War II period. We had high unemployment, very high inflation, and the economy was going through stagflation.

in dealing with terrorists, and how four Presidents - Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and myself - had to deal with the challenge we had with the Soviet Union. There is a significant difference that we have to recognize. In fact, I think the Bush challenge is more difficult than what Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and myself faced. The four of us dealt with one leader of the opposition. Whether it was Brezhnev, Khrushchev, or Stalin, we dealt with the head of the Soviet Union, and I must say that we - the United States with our NATO allies - we knew what their missile capabilities were, what their warhead capabilities were, and to a significant degree, the Soviets knew what our strategic capabilities were. So the net result was neither we nor the Soviets were interested in starting a nuclear war. The terrorists, on the other hand, are a global conglomeration, so to speak. The have forces in the Philippines, forces in Yemen, forces in Europe, but there's no real head of the terrorist organization today that President Bush can deal with. The net result is that our current President has a very tough job. And I think he and his associates, including Donald Rumsfeld and Colin Powell, are doing a fine job.

*What would you do about Iraq?*

I am not as enthusiastic about military action in Iraq as some people seem to be. Having lived through twenty some years of war in Vietnam and the switch in public support from back-



**"I think Hussein is evil and I think he has the potential for developing nuclear weapons, missile capability, and much more. But whether we should initiate it on our own, with little support from other nations, is a question that requires lots of consideration."**

ing that effort to undercutting it, I have to be realistic and say that initial enthusiasm by some may not last if it goes on for a protracted period of time. Nevertheless, I'd like to get rid of Saddam Hussein. I think he's evil and I think he has the potential for developing nuclear weapons, missile capability, and much more. But whether we should initiate it on our own, with little support from other nations, is a question that requires lots of consideration.

*If we do decide to go to war with Iraq, what are the necessities in waging such a war? What is the responsibility of the United States once Saddam Hussein is toppled?*

Assuming he is toppled, the United States should be prepared to develop new leadership in Iraq that will be more cooperative with the free world, and be prepared to do so as quickly as possible. I'm not familiar with what contingency plans the administration has, but I am strongly hopeful that they are prepared for whatever would be the follow up act to the situation.

*How are the 2004 elections going to factor in with decisions regarding a war with Iraq?*

I don't think that should be a determining factor in whether we attack Iraq or not. The justification for an effort to get rid of Hussein should be based on military considerations, his lack of cooperation, and his development of nuclear weapons and missile capabilities. Those are the things that should be determinant in whether we're going to take military operations against him.

*Putting aside the War on Terror, what are the most serious issues facing this country and its people here on the domestic front?*

On the domestic front, the major issue is what do we do about the economy to keep growth going and sustain a healthy economy. If we do that I think we can meet the challenge that has developed in the business world, where a few corporate executives have done the wrong thing as far as a capitalist system has developed. Some of these corporate leaders have been outrageously wrong, and they ought to be

punished if there actions are criminal. They ought to be made to pay the bills if their actions have been fundamentally wrong, and I think the Congress and the White House appear to be working to come up with some better corporate guidelines, rules, and regulations.

*Under your tenure, you were able to bring Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to the negotiating table, setting the stage for the Sinai Two Peace Agreement. What would it take to bring the Israelis and the Palestinians to the negotiating table, and what role should the United States play in furthering the Middle East peace process?*

Well if we had Rabin and Sadat today, we could, in my judgment, sit down at a peace table and come up with an answer in the current challenge facing the Israelis and Palestinians. I have very little hope that we'll see any progress—peace wise or military wise—as long as Sharon and Arafat are in the saddle. Frankly, I am very discouraged by what I have seen going on in the 18 months between Sharon and Arafat. Each and every day, they seem to be getting more antagonistic and less peace oriented.

*What type of agreement should be crafted between the Israelis and the Palestinians, and what specifically should be included in such an agreement?*

Well, a few months ago the Saudi Arabians came up with a proposal that I think can be the framework for a negotiated peace. It may not be a totally perfect solution, but it certainly is a responsible framework to start with. The sooner we get to the negotiating table with that as our framework, the better off we will be.

*Becoming President shortly after China entered the world's consciousness following President Nixon's trip, what sort of role do you expect China to play in future world affairs?*

China now and in the future will have a major role in global politics. They are the biggest country geographically, the most populated country, and they have great resources. China can't be ignored. I think it is better to work with them than to exclude them. We need them at the global



bargaining table.

*You recently accepted an invitation to join the advisory board of the Republican Unity Coalition, an organization that advocates support for gay issues within the Republican Party. What challenges does the Republican Party face when it comes to gay rights, and what should the Republican Party do to reach out to homosexuals and other minority groups?*

My position is very clear. I have historically believed that we should recognize all elements in our society as long as they obey whatever the law may be. As far as I'm concerned I welcome gays, lesbians, and all others into the ranks of the Republican Party as long as they have the ideological views of the party as a whole.

*In a letter to President Bush this past April, you expressed strong opposition to a House bill that banned all forms of human cloning. A Senate Bill sponsored by Senator Specter would make human cloning a federal crime, but would allow research cloning, or what scientists and advocates refer to as 'regenerative medicine.' Although the bill was introduced in May, this bill has been stalled in committees for many months now, and has yet to be voted on. What sparked your interest in the cloning debate, and do you support this Senate bill?*

I am very supportive of Senator Specter. I have been working with him in trying to generate additional Senate support. I'm opposed to reproductive cloning, but I am in favor of therapeutic cloning, so I strongly favor the Specter approach. The House bill that was passed banning all cloning is not going to be passed in the Senate. They have taken the position that for the time being, if anything, there will be a moratorium. I would prefer that the Specter bill be passed, but if we cannot do that, a moratorium proposal is a better approach.

*As the midpoint of President Bush's presidency approaches, where do you think he has shown his greatest strength as a leader, and where has he shown his greatest weakness?*

I think the most effective thing President Bush has done is his handling of the War against Terrorism. I think his approach is

right, and I think his leadership is sound. I think he is making a constructive effort to do something about corporate greed, and his legislation will hopefully result in more effective control over corporate mismanagement.

*With almost 25 years of hindsight, do you think there is a role in public life for former presidents? Or do you think former presidents are better off removing themselves from the partisan fray?*

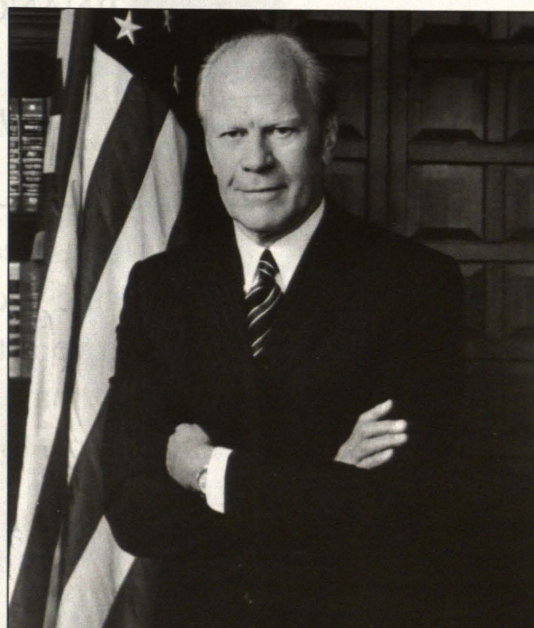
Former Presidents should do what they are interested in, wherever they can be constructive. I don't think there should be a 'former presidents committee' - it would only create more bureaucracy. I have never had any problems communicating with the White House whether Carter, Reagan, Bush, or Clinton was there. In my experience, a former President has always had a good line of communication with one of his successors, and that's the way it should be.

*How did Yale prepare you for a career in public service?*

Yale Law School is a first class educational institution. Their approach to the law is one of participation—regardless of one's future goals. In my case, the challenges faced at the Law School couldn't have been a better area for me to get interested in and active in public service.

*What advice would you give a Yale undergraduate hoping for or entering a career in public service?*

I believe they should, in addition to their education at Yale, get involved in outside, extracurricular activities. In other words, it's great to get a lot of book learning, but it's also important to get some practical experience in the real world, and you can do both.



**"The justification for an effort to get rid of Hussein should be based on military considerations, his lack of cooperation, and his development of nuclear weapons and missile capabilities."**



# ALL POLITICS ARE LOCAL

## GOVERNANCE AT THE CITY LEVEL

*By Victor Ashe*



**F**or an elected official, public service should be a public vocation. To be effective in public office, one must have a true affinity for serving others. Personal success may follow. Throughout my life voters have enabled me to do what I like best: serving others through

government. In my capacity as an elected official, especially as Mayor, the distinction between public and private life is often indistinguishable. As Mayor I continually witness the growth of my profession, 'up close and personal,' as I oversee the very same city services that I value as a city resident. When I take my children to a park for league baseball games, I see a facility that grew out of a state-city-private partnership. When I can easily maneuver a previously dangerous intersection while driving with my family, I recall the negotiations with city council in funding the new road configuration. When I open my hometown newspaper I read about new jobs that neighbors enjoy because of business incentives I initiated. It is truly rewarding to have the opportunity to make a difference.

Knoxville has always been home, and I have dedicated the last 32 years of my life to making it a better place to live, work, play, and raise a family. It was a home to which I returned after graduating from Yale. Before receiving my law degree, I was already serving in the Tennessee State Legislature, where I was able to make my first significant impact on public policy motivated by my own experiences. As an avid outdoorsman, I sponsored and worked for the passage of Tennessee's Natural Areas Preservation Act. Witnessing my friends' and families' cost of medicines, I successfully worked for the exemption of prescription drugs from state sales tax.

In 1985, I was appointed executive director of the Americans Outdoors Commission, established by an executive order of President Reagan. This commission made a national study of recreational needs, and one of its proposals was a locally created system of greenways.

Not coincidentally, the greenways system throughout Knoxville has extended by an additional 20 miles during my time as mayor. As a result, the National Geographic Society, Conservation Fund, and DuPont Foundation named Knoxville the Greenway City of the Year in 1997.

Serving as an elected official on the local level has focused my concept of personal integrity guiding public policy. As a mayor, I can quickly respond to a drainage problem, a lack of affordable housing, or a neighborhood crime concern. It must be very difficult to govern at the national level when results, if any, are seen years or even decades in the future.

This observation was confirmed during my term as president of the United States Conference of Mayors in 1994, the same year as the so-called 'Republican Revolution' in the Congress. While significant process was made on a couple of issues, especially controlling unfunded federal mandates and affordable housing, the pace of change in Washington would be devastating to a locally elected official. Tip O'Neil hit the nail on the head when he said that, 'All politics are local.' A local elected official really only has one budget cycle to respond to a problem. Mayors can only use the excuse once that there is not money in the budget for a new sidewalk or a new traffic light one time. After that, the citizens expect results.

To make sure that the citizens have a voice in their local government, I have made a personal commitment to swinging the doors to city hall wide open.

Communication and a sense of hands-on management is the key to my effective public service, and I have implemented a number of ways that I am accessible:



•**Mayor's Night:** Mayor's Night provides an opportunity for concerned citizens to bring issues related to city government to the attention of city officials. No appointments are necessary. Everyone who comes has a chance to meet with the mayor before being directed to the appropriate department's representative. We hold Mayor's Night monthly, alternating between my office and a school or recreation center in one of the city's neighborhoods.

•**Neighborhood Walks** - For more than 12 years I took monthly walks, previously publicly announced, throughout the city. For a couple of hours starting around 5 p.m. I would walk door-to-door and meet people where they lived, where they were impacted by city services. Neighbors would often solicit me to come to their street, to show me a particular issue such as a drainage problem, but more often neighborhoods randomly. These unsolicited visits generated goodwill that is still alive today.

•**Neighborhood community representative lunches** - Periodically throughout the year I invited formally recognized leaders of community organizations to have lunch with me in my office. It is critical to work through these networks, affirming their roles in their respective neighborhoods.

•**Off-site City Council meetings** - With my encouragement, city council members hold at least one regularly scheduled council meeting within their district. Again, this affords residents an opportunity to claim ownership of city government. In addition, special council meetings are held in neighborhoods as they deal with issues having a direct impact. We've held council meetings in front yards, church parking lots, and restaurants.

•**Media Relations** - I have made a strong effort to foster a cooperative relationship with local media.

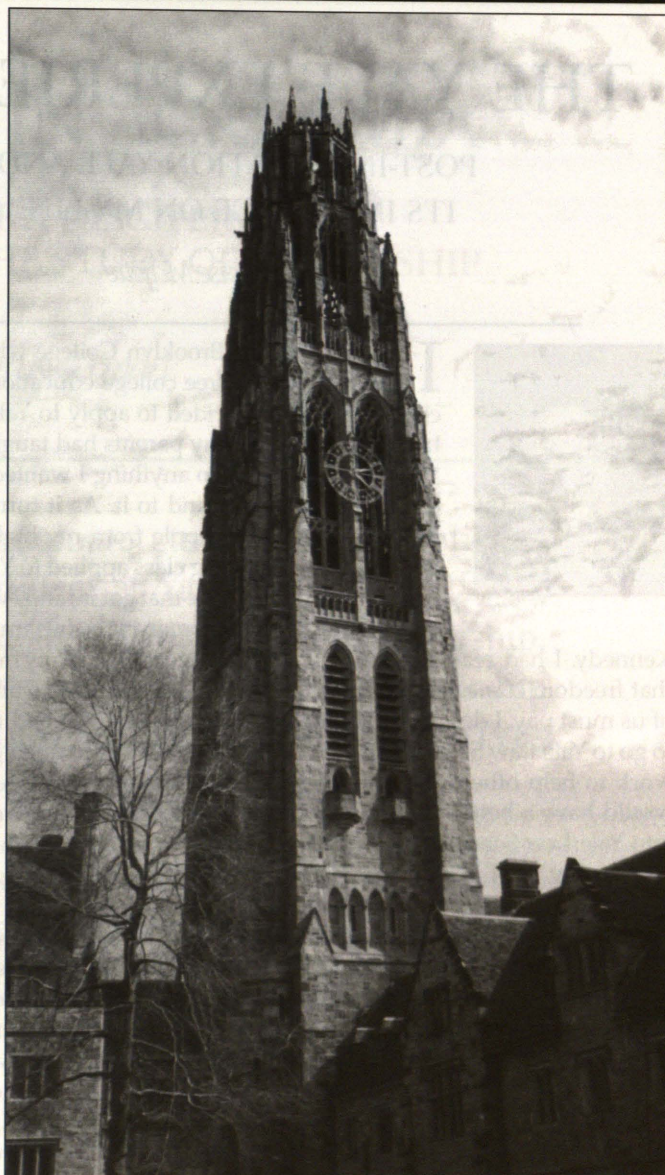
•**Web exposure and e-mail availability** - I feel these are important ways to stay on the cutting edge of technology in the new Information Age.

By integrating my personal priorities with mandates from the voters in four different elections, the city has been able to improve the quality of life in Knoxville. Crime has gone down, un-

employment is at a record low, the city's bond rating is at a record high and the parks and greenway system has been extended to almost every section of the community.

Serving as Mayor has been the greatest honor I have ever had. I appreciate the confidence the voters have shown by returning me to office for four terms. I believe this success validates my agenda of combining public service, professional responsibility and personal integrity in elected office.

*A 1967 graduate of Yale University, Victor Ashe was first elected mayor of Knoxville in 1987 and won reelection in 1991 and 1995 by at least a two-thirds majority of the votes. In the 1999 Primary Election, Ashe was elected without a runoff to his fourth consecutive term as mayor. On July 12, 2001, Ashe was appointed by President Bush to the Board of Directors of the Fannie Mae, the nation's largest source of financing for home mortgages and re-appointed on April 1, 2002. In his 15th year as mayor of Knoxville, Tennessee, Victor Ashe is continuing to develop new and innovative ways to deliver essential public services while maintaining a level tax rate.*



DAVID WHITE

**"Mayors can only use the excuse once that there is not money in the budget for a new sidewalk or a new traffic light one time. After that, the citizens expect results."**



# THE YALE EXPERIENCE

## POST-INTEGRATION YALE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MY LIFE

*By Denise Majette*



I was thirteen when I decided to become a lawyer. It was 1968, and I had just lived through the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Dr. King, and Robert

Kennedy. I had read enough to know that freedom comes at a cost that each of us must pay. I decided that I needed to go to Yale Law School so that I could work to help others. I thought that I would have a better chance of getting into Yale Law School if I attended Yale University, so I also decided that I wanted to go to Yale University - no small feat for a black girl attending an inner city public school in Brooklyn, New York.

Yale provided me with a tremendous educational opportunity and instilled in me the ideal that we should strive to provide similar opportunities for everyone. At the time, I did not know that Yale did not admit women. I just began focusing my attention on being a better student and having good enough grades to get into Yale. As it turned out, a friend of my father had a daughter who was going to transfer to Yale as an upperclassman when then-Yale President Kingman Brewster announced that the University would seek to increase its minority enrollment and admit women. She told me about the opportunity, and I was able to score high enough on the SAT to make me an attractive candidate to Yale.

Getting into Yale taught me to believe in myself. I applied to Yale with the encouragement of my parents, but against the advice of my high school's college advisor. She told me not to waste my money applying there, that I wouldn't get in. She 'counseled' me to go to

Brooklyn College where I could get a free college education. However, I decided to apply to Yale instead because my parents had taught me that I could do anything I wanted to do if I set my mind to it. As it turned out, only two people from my high school graduating class applied to Yale. I was the only one that got in, and I was one of 33 black women in the freshman class of 1,000 in August 1972. In my freshman year, I participated in Yale's Minority Recruitment Program, and I had the sweet revenge of returning to my high school to speak to students about the educational opportunities at Yale for women and minorities. My 'doubting Thomas' advisor had to set up the meeting and listen to me tell my story!

My time at Yale reaffirmed my spiritual beliefs. While there, I was involved in helping to organize the Black Church at Yale. A group of undergraduate and graduate students worked with black Divinity School students to provide an alternative on-campus worship experience similar to what we were used to at home. The University services were interesting, but often politically oriented. As a result, my friends and I would often go off campus to local black churches to have our spirits renewed.

Life at Yale opened my eyes in so many ways. I realized how different my life experience had been from many of the other students, and that the quality of education among public school systems in the North and South varied immensely. Private schooling was an entirely separate issue. I had no exposure at all to many of the things that were routinely taught in a private school setting. Even though I grew up in New York, the so-called 'melting pot,' I was exposed to life on a global scale at Yale, attending school with sons of kings and world leaders, captains of industry, and media stars. I also attended school with

people who literally had not seen a black person before except on TV. One friend used to stare in amazement as I had someone cornrow my hair, and would ask questions like, "Do you have to wash your hair?" I experienced old white men crossing the street so as not to walk on the same sidewalk as me and articles in the Yale Daily News criticizing gays for revealing their sexual orientation and blacks for sitting together in the cafeteria.

Yale strengthened my sense of perseverance. My first semester grades were three C's and a D. I dropped computer programming after my tutor told me I was hopeless (which, I will admit, was quite sage advice.) In spite of my early disappointment and heartache, I struggled on. I had the hopes and sacrifices of too many people riding on my success, and I knew there were two options: flunk out or graduate. They hadn't flunked me, so only one option was left. I prayed, dug in and second semester I had my first A and B, and never saw a D again. I graduated in May 1976 with an overall B average, and offers from Georgetown, University of Texas, University of California at Berkeley and Duke University law schools. My hard work was paying off. I didn't even apply to Yale Law, because at the time I knew another three years in New Haven would cause me serious emotional damage.

Today as I look back at my time at Yale, standing here with a chance to go to Congress, I finally realize how important my experiences there were. It wasn't about an Ivy League education. It wasn't about a degree. It wasn't about being among the first African American women to attend Yale. It was about being a more complete person and learning how to realize my potential.

I have led a life of public service from my early days in Legal Aid to my service as a judge. I am now in a position to do great things for the benefit of others. I cannot imagine that my life would be the same had attended a different school.

*Denise Majette is a graduate of Yale University. On August 20, 2002, Majette defeated incumbent Cynthia McKinney for Georgia's 4th Congressional district.*



# LEADERSHIP IN ACADEMIA

## THE BIRTH OF A DISCIPLINE: CHALLENGES FACING THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP

By Barbara Kellerman



When I was a graduate student in the Political Science Department at Yale in the early 1970s, there was not a single course on the subject of leadership, nor was there a faculty member who had given leadership per se much thought. While counterintuitive-

is leadership not central to political life? This was the norm. For reasons ranging from conventional disciplinary divides to political scientists' bias toward quantitative rather than qualitative work (the word "science" says it all), leadership was in exile. To be sure, some of history's greatest minds—from before Plato to after Freud—had political leadership at the center of their study. But 20<sup>th</sup> century political scientists were generally uninterested.

Why has this situation now changed?

First, there was the appearance in 1978 of James MacGregor Burns's seminal book, *Leadership*. It is not too much to say that once Burns, a writer and scholar of considerable eminence, put his imprimatur on leadership as a subject of serious inquiry, some academics' attitudes toward the subject shifted, at least slightly.

Second, leadership courses appeared with increasing frequency in the curricula of American schools of business. Threatened in the 1970s with serious and unanticipated competition from Japan, by the 1980s American business and industry, along with the schools that serviced them, concluded that a focus on leadership would provide the private sector with an important competitive edge.

Finally, during the 1960s and '70s in particular, the United States endured crises of political leadership that included assassinations, an unpopular war, and threats of presidential impeachment. Taken together, these three developments alone were enough to focus the mind—on leadership.

It is not too much to say that by the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, leadership had come in from the cold. I do not want to exaggerate the magnitude of this develop-

ment. Leadership remains a stepchild in the modern academy, especially in departments of political science. Still, for those of us who study the interaction between leaders and followers, and how this interaction plays itself out in the public arena, the climate is decidedly more hospitable than it was before.

At both the graduate and undergraduate levels, the study of leadership is experienced in essentially two ways. Students can, literally, 'study' leadership as an area of intellectual inquiry. In fact, in the recent past, a fledgling discipline or, more precisely, 'interdiscipline' has emerged: Leadership Studies. While Leadership Studies is hardly in the mainstream of American higher education, this amalgam of work on leadership from disciplines as disparate as philosophy, history, psychology, organizational behavior, political science, law, and theology, is beginning to gain some heft—and a modicum of respectability. As a consequence, undergraduate and graduate courses on the study of leadership are increasingly offered at colleges and universities nationwide. (This development is mirrored in countries from England to China.)

Students can also take courses in leadership training and development—courses that presume to teach them leadership skills and strategies they can use in different settings and situations. This kind of leadership education bears a strong resemblance to what takes place in the 'leadership industry,' a growth business in recent years, financed by American companies determined to school their managers and leaders in how to manage and lead.

There is little hard evidence to confirm the positive and long-term impact of courses, seminars, and work-



**“While Leadership Studies is hardly in the mainstream of American higher education, this amalgam of work on leadership from disciplines as disparate as philosophy, history, psychology, organizational behavior, political science, law, and theology, is beginning to gain some heft—and a modicum of respectability.”**

shops that purport to train leaders. Still, they continue to attract large numbers of adults and young people; and they continue to be funded by private enterprises and, increasingly, institutions of higher education, convinced the investment will pay off.

While there is no way to determine precisely what kinds of leadership education and training colleges and universities might most usefully be developing, we can predict with confidence that even in the short term, leaders will change. In addition, their followers and the contexts within which leadership takes place will also change. But the question remains, exactly how?

For example, what kind of an impact will the information revolution have on leadership? Will virtual leadership significantly differ from face-to-face leadership? Or are the underlying dynamics in fact the same? And what about the shrinking planet? Will the effects of globalization and increasingly diverse followers change the way leadership is exercised? Or do the demographics of who is leading and who is following not much matter? And now that we're much more connected than ever before in human history, will there finally be a leader with an authentically global constituency?

Both for graduate and undergraduate students who have an intellectual curiosity about leadership, and for those who want simply to learn how to lead, or to lead more effectively, there are some points that pertain across the board. Consider the following list part of a foundation in support of Leadership 101.

- Work on leadership theory and practice should be conducted in tandem.
- Like other cultures, the culture of leadership changes.
- Leadership is more porous now than it used to be; leaders in one arena are called on to perform in another.
- Persuasion is a more important

tool than it once was; but it is less important than it is purported to be.

- Power and authority still matter.

- Followers demand more now than they did in the past.

- The hard sciences will have a growing impact on leadership learning.

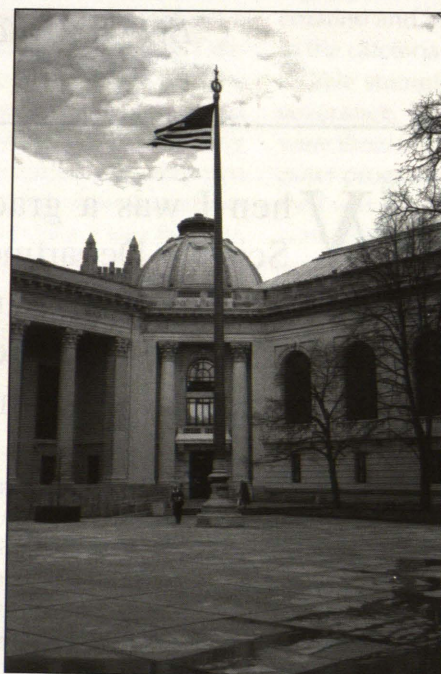
- The instruction of leadership ethics remains an undertaking best considered problematic.

- Bad leadership is consistently, and mistakenly, ignored by those who mine the leadership field.

- So far as leadership is concerned, what's nature and what's nurture remains elusive.

For someone like me, to see leadership in fashion is splendid. I'm a true believer. There is nothing of greater importance to the course of human affairs than the interaction that takes place between leaders and followers. What remains to be seen is whether the burgeoning interest in leadership is just this, a fashion, or whether in fact its profound significance will ultimately be better understood.

*Barbara Kellerman received her M.A. in Russian and East European Studies from Yale in 1971, and her Ph.D. in Political Science from Yale in 1975. She currently serves as Executive Director of the Center for Public Leadership and Lecturer in Public Policy at Harvard's John. F. Kennedy School of Government.*



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# EXAMINING ARAFAT AND THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY

HOW LEGITIMATE IS THE PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT?

*By Jon Fremaux*

When considering elections today, many in the liberal democratic world see them as performing a very clear and obvious function: to convey legitimacy onto the person or body that is elected. By legitimacy, we understand that the person or body has a right to the authority which it possesses. This is not the only origin of legitimacy; Weber famously identified two alternatives, one originating



AFF

from cultural and social traditions such as the medieval monarchies of Europe or the theocracies of the Middle-East today. The other was seen to be more spontaneous, springing from an individual's natural ability to command respect in his fellow men. Today we do not regard military dictators, such as Saddam Hussein or Robert Mugabe, to be legitimate representatives of their people, nor do we regard the clerics of Iran or the Kings of Saudi Arabia to be legitimate rulers in the same way as we think of our own Heads of State. The primary difference between our own rulers and the examples just cited is the crucial role of the election in generating the former. The obvious question to ask is why elections are seen as so vital for government by the Western World.

The answer lies in the dominant political hegemony of liberal democracy in the West. The doctrine that the people rule is one of the most sacrosanct aspects of Western political culture. It is apparent, however, that the people cannot rule directly in a large and economically efficient nation state in a manner envisioned by Rousseau or practiced in ancient Athens. The genesis of liberal theory in England and France in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century provides us with our modern-day notion of representative democracy, and the idea that the people should rule themselves is provided for by allowing the people

to choose from amongst themselves who should represent their interests and govern on their behalf. The use of an election is the simplest and most compelling manner in which one should do this (though not the only; random selection was a favored proposal in some liberal European circles). Using a simple utilitarian argument, Dahl explains that having the support of the greatest number of people ensures that the

greatest number of people will be satisfied with the policies of the government. That election is the best method to convey legitimate authority onto a representative is a straightforward argument, although there are many different electoral formulae and systems of representation. The question of whether there are tiers of legitimacy, or that one representative might be more legitimate than another, will be the matter under consideration in this article.

To illustrate how these different notions of legitimacy play out, I will consider the validity of the remarks made by President Bush in July this year concerning the legitimacy of Chairman Yasser Arafat as the executive representative of the Palestinian people. Arafat originally represented the Palestinian people as a figurehead, the career leader of a 'terrorist' organization called the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO). The PLO was recognized as the 'legitimate' representative body of the Palestinian people, with Arafat as its leader, by the UN in 1990. Crucially, this legitimacy did not derive from the PLO's status as an elected body of representatives, but from the more natural ability of Arafat to be able to claim to speak on behalf of the Palestinians. Under the provisions of the Oslo agreement the Palestinian Authority was set up as a directly elected legislature for the



Palestinian people, to be chaired by a directly elected Chairman. The first round of elections for this new body were held in 1996; new elections have been called for January 2003.

When considering the legitimacy of, or how representative a political system is, there are a number of factors that need to be taken into account. As already mentioned, there is much controversy over which electoral formula provides the best representation of the wishes of the people. There also needs to be some question of how free and fair the election is when it is held. There are, in addition, questions arising over the size of the electoral district, the size of the elected body, and which system of leadership, presidential or prime ministerial, can lay claim to being the most legitimate voice of the people it governs. All of these issues are tied in some way to the manner in which a country chooses to utilize the electoral process, the inter-relationships between these many factors forming the bulk of what many skeptics of democracy describe as 'constitutional engineering.' The most salient way to illustrate how many of these factors contribute to legitimacy is to look at the most recent re-election of President Hussein of Iraq. The election was used because of its respected status in conveying legitimacy onto its product. This is quite typical, even in dictatorships. In Iraq, however, there was only one party with only one candidate for the presidency. People were forced to vote publicly at gunpoint. Not surprisingly, President Hussein was re-elected with 99.9% of the vote; yet despite this apparent mass support from his own people, his leadership of Iraq is not considered legitimate by any government in the Western World.

First is the issue of presidential against prime ministerial leadership. The basic difference is that the former is directly elected by the people, while the latter is elected, or possibly *selected*, by his or her respective party. On this simple prefix the President automatically looks to be more legitimate, as his authority derives from a national constituency rather than a political clique. Many political scientists, however, believe that the converse is more likely to be the case. The reasoning behind this

apparently paradoxical position is based on the relationship that these two types of executive have with their respective legislatures, and the types of majority they are likely to carry in an election. The legislature is clearly more representative of the country than the executive: it is larger, and its members are required to support local interests as well as party initiatives. In leading the largest party, a prime minister will always find himself governing in the interest of the greatest number, as opposed to presidential systems in which split ticket voting and other anomalies can lead to an executive and legislature being in opposition and can even lead to political deadlock. Presidents are also generally elected for fixed terms, so this problem becomes built into the system. In prime ministerial government, the executive can dissolve the legislature and the legislature can dissolve the executive. The effect of this is that deadlock is impossible, and the government is thus more responsive to changing political attitudes and cannot stray too far from the mandate it gained at its most recent election. Most important is the effect of the cabinet choices made by the respective Heads of Government. Here a presidential system appears much more clique-based than the prime ministerial. This is not necessarily the case: in the UK the Prime Minister is sufficiently powerful to not be hugely constrained in his choice of ministers. If one looks at the PR systems of Western Europe, however, the Prime Minister is normally the leader of the largest party, but is obliged to take on coalition parties in order to make a majority. Such bargaining increases the size of the majority represented in Government, and also increases the range of policy ideas presented for debate in the legislature. The degree of representation that each system can claim is of course influenced by the electoral system, but this will be discussed below.

Second, regarding the size of the legislature, it is generally agreed that bigger is better. Based on the Rousseauian ideal of a direct democracy that harnesses the general will, it is demonstrably clear that pure democracy is where all people govern and that there is no democracy where only one person gov-

**"In Iraq, however, there was only one party with only one candidate for the presidency. People were forced to vote publicly at gunpoint. Not surprisingly, President Hussein was re-elected with 99.9% of the vote; yet despite this apparent mass support from his own people, his leadership of Iraq is not considered legitimate by any government in the Western World."**



**“There are questions arising over the size of the electoral district, the size of the elected body, and which system of leadership, presidential or prime ministerial, can lay claim to being the most legitimate voice of the people it governs.”**

erns. There is an obvious trade-off between democratic representation and governmental efficiency: if all people are participating in government, then government will be slow and cumbersome, whereas a single individual with sole executive and legislative power can pass law much more efficiently. Political scientists have reached the seemingly arbitrary figure of the cube root of a population as being the optimal size for a legislature. Using this measure, the UK Parliament is significantly oversized with over 1000 members, the U.S. Congress is about right, and the Palestinian Authority is too small. At only 88 members it cannot even facilitate a percentage breakdown of parties into seats in a directly proportional manner, and ideally should be more than twice its size at around 200 members.

Thirdly, concerning the freedom and fairness of elections, it is imperative by Western liberal democratic standards that electoral competition is permitted, that all political parties have access to the same means of promotion, possibly even the same resources, i.e. through state funding of political parties. Elections should be conducted through a secret ballot that is easily understood. Many countries aim to comply with the

‘free and fair’ requirement by allowing impartial UN inspectors to monitor the electoral process. This indeed was the case for the 1996 Palestinian elections, and to date there are only two countries that consistently refuse to allow electoral inspectors in: the U.S. and the UK. Both countries have good claims to being the world’s oldest democracy, but both run fairly undemocratic systems of election. It is quite clear that if the 2000 presidential election in the U.S. or the 1959 general election in the UK had occurred in Zimbabwe, for example, the UN would have denounced the election as unfair and requested a fresh ballot before it recognized a leader as legitimate. Neither country would be prepared to suffer such embarrassment; similarly, neither country is willing to reform its electoral system to avoid repetition of these unfortunate cases.

District magnitude, or the size of the constituency from which a representative is drawn, also has an effect on the representativeness of the elected body. The precise nature of the relationship depends on the electoral system in use, however. In a majority voting system, electoral districts should be small so as to increase local accountability as is the case with U.S. congressmen, while in proportional representation systems electoral districts should be as large as possible, possibly even national in scope as they are in Scandinavia, in order to alleviate vote wasting and malapportionment. This simple system demonstrates a further democratic deficit in the presidential system, as it is impossible to elect a president through proportional representation. However, it is also impossible to elect a president from any constituency but a national one. The net result is the election of a single individual who at worst could only represent a small percentage of the population. This can be particularly acute when coupled with low turnout. In the U.S. today, for example, less than 1 in 4 Americans actively voted for the current President in December 2000.

Finally the “most important factor” (as Duverger once described it), is the electoral system itself. To many early 20<sup>th</sup> century political scientists and constitution framers this simple political



*The Palestinian Parliament votes on a confidence motion in Ramallah*



tool could be used to manipulate the political destiny of a given society. There are two main umbrella terms for electoral systems: majoritarian and proportional. The majoritarian electoral system simply requires that the candidate with the most votes wins. The most common is the simple plurality or 'first-past-the-post' method, which is simply a question of having more votes than one's opponent. The alternative is the majority system, which requires the winner have at least greater than half the votes in order to win. The latter system is more common in presidential races, and was famously responsible for Le Pen's shock second place in the Presidential race this year in France. Both majoritarian systems are notoriously biased in favor of large established parties, carry a heavy democratic deficit, and tend to correlate with strong effective government and stable two-party systems. The majoritarian method is popular, and is used in over a third of all the world's democracies, suggesting an accepted trade-off between democratic legitimacy and executive efficiency.

Proportional representation systems by contrast are designed to represent, almost microcosmically, the political views of a society in the assembly. These are often coupled with parliamentary systems of government which create coalition government based on consensus building and stable stewardship. In terms of realising the ideals of democracy, these systems are vastly superior to majority systems, as they encourage the proliferation of small parties and interest groups and operate in a climate of negotiation and compromise rather than competition.

Looking at the relationships between these different factors in electoral systems demonstrates how emphasis in different areas can create a whole spectrum of different political cultures that range from the almost perfect democracy of Switzerland to the highly efficient dictatorship of Iraq. The precise position on this spectrum that a country will occupy will depend a lot on its history, culture, and the demands of its political elite. The quasi-dictatorial powers of the U.S. President and the UK Prime Minister stem, for example, from their respective positions on the

world stage. The U.S. since its genesis has tended to define itself in terms of its enemies, beginning with the British. Strong executive power is necessary in any prolonged military climate. Similarly the UK, with its previous absolute monarchy and global empire, has needed a provision to govern exclusively from the center. To compensate for these unusually strong executives, both countries originally had very strong legislatures. In the U.S. this remains, protected by the constitution. In the UK, the absence of this safeguard has ensured a sustained increase in executive power to the point where no western democracy can boast a leader with as much executive dominance over domestic and international affairs as the British Prime Minister.

When these considerations are factored into an account of the Palestinian authority and its leader Yasser Arafat, a proper assessment on whether his legitimacy as a political representative can be made. Faults with the Palestinian system are easily recognized simply by looking at the constitutional provisions for creating the assembly. As already mentioned, the assembly itself is too small to represent the wishes of the Palestinians even under conditions of perfect proportionality. Perfect proportionality, however, is far from what the Palestinian people have to hope for. The simple plurality system in place, coupled with the use of a presidential executive system, meant that Arafat's position as chairman was almost guaranteed before any votes were cast. In 1996 Arafat's Fatah Party managed to occupy 50 seats (almost two-thirds of the assembly) on less than one-third of the votes cast. This degree of disproportionality, while lamentable, is not uncommon in electoral systems of this type. In the UK one only has to look at the discrepancy between the Blair 'landslide' victories of 1997 and 2001 and the vote share of the Labor Party in these years to see that such lack of representation is a fault of the system, rather than the actors operating within it. In Palestine the main problem for legitimacy in government is the lack of political competition. In the Palestinian Assembly only three parties other than Arafat's Fatah move-

**"It is quite clear that if the 2000 presidential election in the US or the 1959 general election in the UK had occurred in Zimbabwe, for example, the UN would have denounced the election as unfair and requested a fresh ballot before it recognized a leader as legitimate."**



**"Chairman Arafat's position appears positively totalitarian. This unfortunate position is not Arafat's doing, however. He is no Saddam Hussein or Robert Mugabe but a product of a constitution created for him by European and American diplomats in Oslo 10 years previous."**

ment managed to gain legislative representation, and these only managed one candidate each. The remaining 35 are independents. Arafat, as a directly elected chairman, has supreme executive authority just like any other presidential character, which, coupled with legislative dominance, puts him in a position of domestic authority shared only by the Prime Ministers of the UK and Israel. When combined again with a complete lack of opposition, Chairman Arafat's position appears positively totalitarian. This unfortunate position is not Arafat's doing, however. He is no Saddam Hussein or Robert Mugabe but a product of a constitution created for him by European and American diplomats in Oslo 10 years previous. We should not be surprised by the amount of power Arafat's position holds, however. His task as Chairman was to bring Palestinian militants and terrorists under control, something that requires decisive action and efficient policy-making. UN election inspectors were happy that the elections were as free and fair as any could be expected to be in Europe.

To call for Arafat's removal then on the grounds of his illegitimacy as a political representative appears naive. Arafat's powerful position was created for him in order that he be given the necessary power and resources to tackle the terrorist cells operating in the occupied territories. Under the provision of free and fair elections he won fair and square with over 80% of the votes cast, with a total percentage of popular support well over 50%.

This grants better democratic credentials than can be seen in many Western executives. The problem is that the Palestinian Authority was created to give this sort of power to its Chairman. Any replacement to Arafat would have the same power, and may be even more likely to abuse his position. What is needed to restore democracy and an element of legitimacy to the Middle East peace process is a new round of negotiation and pressure to reform the Palestinian Authority. This is what Arafat is under pressure to do both from within his own party and from his Arab allies, particularly in Saudi Arabia. By questioning the ability of the Palestinian people's ability to choose their own leader, President Bush has probably handed an ailing and semi-despotic leader a second term and shifted the focus from where it truly needs to be.

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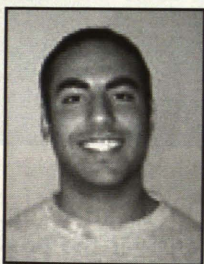
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# REINSTATING THE DRAFT

THE CASE FOR MANDATORY MILITARY CONSCRIPTION IN AMERICA

By Jacob Kiani



The draft was the foundation of our military efforts in World War I, World War II, and the Korean War. However, after controversy emerged about who could and who could not receive deferment, Richard Nixon abolished the draft in 1973. But with the recently declared

war on terrorism and the prospect of war with Iraq becoming increasingly probable, the draft should be reinstated.

After the tragic events of September 11, many news outlets reported that droves of young Americans were inquiring at military recruitment offices about enlisting in the United States Armed Forces. Yet recruitment numbers remain about even with pre-September 11 levels. None of the aforementioned enlistment inquiries ever materialized. Additionally, the new type of war that the United States is fighting against terrorism requires that we redefine and expand our view of the traditional military. Since the threat of terrorism occurring on the United States mainland remains a very real possibility, we are going to need more federal armed personnel to guard nuclear power plants, to protect U.S. embassies abroad, to screen baggage at airports, and to inspect the cargo of ships at our nation's ports.

But where are these new recruits going to come from? According to Professor Charles Moskos of the Sociology Department at Northwestern University, between 1980 and 2000, surveys showed that the number of young people saying they would definitely not serve in the military rose from 40 to 64 percent. The draft would seem to be an appropriate tool to resolve the discrepancy between our nation's military need and the willingness of our citizens to actually serve. But American policy makers do not even wish to consider re-establishing the draft. As Professor Moskos points out in an article which appeared in *The Washington Monthly* called *Now Do You Believe We Need A Draft?*, "That terrorists might poison municipal water supplies, spray anthrax from crop dusters, or suicidally infect them-

selves with smallpox and stroll through busy streets, is no longer considered farfetched. That we might need to draft some of our people to counter these threats—now that's considered farfetched, to the extent that it's considered at all."

Moreover, bringing back the draft will improve the quality of our armed forces. To prove this point, one need look no further than the facts about the type of citizens who enlist voluntarily. In fiscal year 2000, the Army took in some 380 recruits with felony arrest records, double the number in 1998. The number of enlistees scoring in the top half of the armed forces qualifications tests has dropped by a third since the mid-1990s. Over one-third of those entering the military failed to complete their enlistments. But only one in ten draftees did not complete his two-year obligation during the Cold War. This data suggests that making military service mandatory for all citizens at one point in their lives would improve the quality of the men and women who serve in our nation's armed forces.

Young college graduates who are drawn to private sector jobs with high salaries would have to put those aspirations on hold in order to complete their mandatory short term service in the United States Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, or Homeland Security department. Instead of merely putting an American flag on the antenna of one's SUV in order to illustrate one's patriotism, our nation's citizens would actually be demonstrating their love of country in a more substantive way. Furthermore, some young people might enjoy their experience of serving in the military and would go on to use the skills they learn while doing so later on in their careers.



**“While the neo-conservatives and hawks in the Bush administration are beating their war drums and proposing a military operation to effect regime change in Baghdad, there is a very slim possibility that any of the sons and daughters of these elite policy makers will ever be the actual Americans risking their lives in a war with Iraq.”**



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Bringing back the draft would also make the demographics of the military more proportionate to our nation's population as a whole. Currently, those who serve in the military are disproportionately minorities and lower income citizens. While the neo-conservatives and hawks in the Bush administration are beating their war drums and proposing a military operation to effect regime change in Baghdad, there is a very slim possibility that any of the sons and daughters of these elite policy makers will ever be the actual Americans risking their lives in a war with Iraq.

Some 500,000 troops were needed to force Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait during the Persian Gulf War. Iraq's military capabilities have been severely reduced since then; some commentators suggest that we will need 250,000 troops this time around to effect regime change in Iraq. But while African-Americans make up only 12 percent of the overall work force, they will comprise more than 30 percent of the soldiers risking their lives to change the regime in Baghdad. This fact does not square with our country's ideals of equality. It would seem that the citizens who should be overseas fighting for our freedoms ought to be the ones who benefit the most from those freedoms here at home.

If the elite policy makers in the White House, who are already draw-

ing up war plans for an attack on Iraq actually had to consider the possibility that one of their children might have to fight a war in Iraq, they might think a bit more carefully before proposing to throw American military might around the world.

It is time to return to the era of a mandatory military draft with no special treatment, including refusing allowances for college deferments. In the wake of September 11 and with the importance of protecting our homeland, our nation's need for a draft is certainly more apparent than ever before. A mandatory draft would actually improve the quality of our armed forces, a result that not many commentators could effectively argue against. And a military draft would also shore up our country's commitment to the ideals of equality by making sure that every citizen, no matter his or her socioeconomic class, would have to demonstrate his or her patriotism by serving in a branch of the armed forces. Sounds more substantive than screaming the National Anthem louder than the guy sitting next to you at the ballpark, and serving in the military would actually be helping our country as well.

*Jacob Kiani is a senior in Pierson College. This past summer he worked for the State Department at the United States Embassy in Cairo, Egypt.*



# AFTER THE COLD WAR

## THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF A UNIPOLAR WORLD

*By Robert Berschinski*

When the Soviet Union was in its death throes a little more than a decade ago, political scholars heralded the dawn of a new era in international relations. Debate in intellectual circles pondered whether foreign states would challenge or encourage America's preeminence; in short, whether other countries would struggle against McWorld or decide that the American bandwagon was the best place to be. As we now know, time has proven that the most immediate threat to U.S. security resides not in the emergence of a global competitor, but instead in the ever-present threat of terror originating from Third World religious extremists.

Mainstream Islamic scholars stress that the vitriolic speech spewed by terrorists is not the true word of the Koran, while American politicians emphasize that the war on terrorism is not synonymous with a battle against Islam. Yet last year's terrorist attacks caught the U.S. intelligence community off-guard and left many Americans wondering where Islamic militarism came. History tells us that the Islamic extremism we now face is just one example of the ideological backlash present in every struggle for national self-determination, and that building stable capitalist democracies is not as easy as eliminating imperial authority. What America now views as contemporary Islamic extremism is rooted in Arab nationalist movements begun over a half century ago, delayed by an effect of the Cold War that ultimately worked in favor of Western stability.

It is no coincidence that the rise of the modern nation-state in Europe coincided with the advent of capitalism. Put simply, the western national revolutions that began in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were redistributions of power, in that political control was taken from the landed nobility and seized by the business class. But every national revolution is quickly met by the same question: where does equality end? To use Marxist terminology, each triumphant national bourgeoisie, or business class, is initially very weak, and consequentially prone to collapsing under the weight of the very democracy that it fought to gain.

The most obvious example of this phenomenon occurred in France, where the business class was eventually overrun by the working masses who, to the dismay

of many of the original revolutionaries, tended to equate the end of feudal power and serfdom with true economic equality for all. The result was the Reign of Terror and the rise of another centralized power in the form of Napoleon.

In America, our national revolution was achieved more successfully, but not without a muted version of the same course of events. Indeed, in the years after the Revolution, the federal army was required to put down uprisings from Americans who could not come to terms with the notion that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" did not equate to perfect economic parity for all. Although it would be nice to think that the American situation did not approach the bedlam of France because of American manifest destiny, the truth is that the infant U.S. had a stronger national bourgeoisie, and substituted a disenfranchised African slave population for the entrenched peasant class of Europe. Thus America lacked a large class of the *sans-culottes*, and the federalist system survived the early days of the republic.

Because the economic benefits of capitalism elevated Western Europe and the U.S. so far ahead of the rest of the world from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onward, it took the Arab world two more centuries to achieve self-determination. The fall of the Ottoman Empire after WWI and the dissolution of the British Empire after WWII left the domestic business class in many modern Arab states able to attain their nationalist goals for the first time. Yet from the outset their situation was drastically different from that of Europe, in that the members of the business class themselves were never truly devoid of foreign influence. In most cases the Arab bourgeoisie was dominated by foreigners, or at the very least cooperative with foreign economic entities because of their underlying dependence on western wealth. This left the domestic business class even less able to manage the responsibilities of governance, and opened the door for opposition from the masses, which often took the form of religious fundamentalism, even when the state was created under a secular framework.

All this was occurring under the dual influences of capitalism and communism. As its name implies, the



**"It would be folly to wish for a return to the Cold War and all its proxy battles, in the mid-East as elsewhere. Yet one unforeseen advantage of the Cold War was that it gave Arab nationalism an outlet that did not involve the fundamentalist extremism that threatens U.S. security today."**

Third World occupied neither the Atlantic nor the Soviet spheres, but was influenced and manipulated by each. The effect of the Soviet sphere in the Arab world was to offer an alternative secular organizational structure to the economic and cultural dominance of the West, filling the ideological void that otherwise could only be satisfied with appeals to Islamic solidarity. Nasserite Egypt presents the best example of secular nationalism relying on support from the socialist camp to avoid radical religious fundamentalism as a governmental framework.

were founded as the influence of the Soviet Union waned. Nor can it be forgotten that the original mission of al-Qaeda and the U.S. sponsored *mujahadeen* was to fight against the Soviet Union and its incompatible social ideology.

With the end of the bipolar world, Arab nationalists are faced with Western-style democratic capitalism as the only ideological rival to Islamic fundamentalism. As westerners struggle to understand why religious extremism holds such power in Arab states, it should be remembered that most of



AFF

From the perspective of American security, it would be folly to wish for a return to the Cold War and all its proxy battles, in the Middle East as elsewhere. Yet one unforeseen advantage of the Cold War was that it gave Arab nationalism an outlet that did not involve the fundamentalist extremism that threatens U.S. security today. Socialist ideology gave Arab nationalists a tool in the struggle to organize their domestic populations, an alternative to the call for fundamentalist Islamic statehood. It is no coincidence that the more militant groups of the Palestinian movement, such as Hamas and Islamic Jihad,

these states gained their independence only within the last fifty years, and that the Cold War provided a surrogate form of secular nationalism for all but the last ten. Many Arabs cannot reconcile Western-style governance with Western economic domination. Thus fundamentalism becomes ever-more alluring. Everyone expected the end of the Cold War to mark a major change in American security policy, but was this what we bargained for?

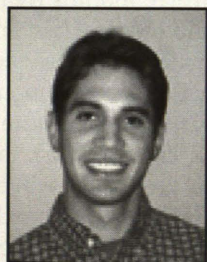
*Robert Berschinski graduated from Yale in 2002 and is an intelligence analyst for the U.S. Air Force.*



# MANAGING CATASTROPHE

## DEVELOPING AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO BIOLOGICAL TERROR

*By Adam Fein*



**W**e as a nation can no longer conduct ourselves as a global player with our eyes wide shut. We can no longer assume invulnerability to serious terrorist incidents on American soil. We must learn to expect the unexpected. Biological terror is just one element in a

complex and rapidly changing equation of new national security threats. We have entered an era of catastrophic terrorism in which our greatest vulnerability will be created by our own technological sophistication, in which the technology and infrastructure that contribute to our economic comfort and social welfare can be exploited by terrorists determined to damage us. They aim to erode our people's confidence in government, to provoke legislative actions that encroach on our civil liberties, and ultimately to undermine the American spirit. The cacophony of the events of September 11th, the anxiety of the anthrax scares, and the looming shadow of future attacks have forced us all to realize that every element of contemporary society is vulnerable.

Biological terror today probably ranks lower on the spectrum of threat than many other kinds of catastrophic terrorism. However, relentless media coverage has highlighted just how devastating a bioattack could be to our homeland if conducted on a large scale, and President Bush's preaching of the imminent peril of Iraq's biological weapons has added to this period of apprehension. The United States must use this momentum as an impetus to stand with our best guard for the challenge of what a "bio" threat will become over the next two decades as a consequence of the dizzying pace of progress in biology, genetics and medicine. The twentieth century was dominated by weapon systems that evolved from advances in physics, engineering, computing, and mathematics. We are entering an era in which biotreats will undergo a massive advancement in destructive potential, offering threats to many people through alternative channels. The potential for both devastation and misuse is a combination that poses peril to our health, our economy, and our very way of life.

The anthrax episode served to highlight what many

prescient commentators have been saying for a long time: that America and the Western democracies are ill-prepared to deal with bioassaults as a result of the appalling neglect of public health infrastructure over the past three decades. Public health capabilities have suffered from the widespread delusional belief held by political leaders that the battle against infectious diseases had been won. In the never-ending populist quest for cheaper health care, we have eliminated most of the reserve capacity in the hospital system. We have excised urban hospital systems' 'surge' capacity to deal with a massive disaster, irrespective of its origin. The American public is completely unaware of this stark deficit. Patronized by cheap political slogans from legislators eager to duck the real causes of health care inflation, the American public wants more health care at ever-cheaper cost. Seeking to satiate this hunger for health care consumption, decision-makers have in turn allowed for the "fat" of reserve capacity to be cut.

The anthrax scare in the fall of 2001 prominently showed that the United States has very limited proactive planning across the health system for disaster management. Preparedness to cope with bioterrorism and other lurking evils requires planning. No moves are in place to prevent health care personnel defection in times of crises. Legal impediments actually prevent the transfer of physicians and other health professions between states in an emergency. The low quality of our ability to transfer information proved dangerous. Media irresponsibility, compounded by appalling communication skills on the part of several government officials in the early stages of the anthrax incident, served to fuel public concern. Preparedness should define in advance who is responsible for working with the media to prevent inept and inaccurate commentaries proffered by people who have no substantive



**"Everyone is in charge, so no one is in charge. More than forty federal agencies claim primacy in responsibility for different aspects of a bio incident. Exasperating the weaknesses is then the implosion of turf battles about organizational responsibilities at the state and local levels."**

knowledge of the true situation. Proactive preparedness planning is everything: planning about resources, planning about location, scope, and staffing of a command center, and planning to establish specific operating procedures and clear delineation of roles and responsibilities. Specific plans need to exist at the local, regional, and national levels.

The framework of our current disaster management and public health competencies was designed to respond to hurricanes, earthquakes, and industrial disasters. In turn, we currently face chaos in consequence management because of serious organizational deficits at the national level. Everyone is in charge, so no one is in charge. More than forty federal agencies claim primacy in responsibility for different aspects of a bio incident. Exasperating the weaknesses is then the implosion of turf battles about organizational responsibilities at the state and local levels. Irrespective of the Department of Homeland Security's commitment to coordination, without control of the resources needed to build a robust homeland defense, the department will be subject to constant challenges by those who don't want to surrender their current resources and power.

Tragically, the reality is that the shock to the system post-September 11 has still not been enough to force enough people to relinquish these territorial turf wars, to abandon their rice bowl mentalities and face the ugly fact that the nation does not yet have a cogent, overarching strategic plan for bioterrorism. In the absence of such a plan, there are no declared priorities for bio defense or enunciation of defensible technical rationales for what we are choosing to fund. There are no metrics to measure performance to know whether we are making progress and getting value for the vast sums being invested. The President and Congress, with good intentions, have added \$37 billion for counter-terrorism initiatives, including bioterrorism. But these resources have been allocated in a rather knee-jerk fashion without careful assessment. It's throwing money at a problem without any attempt to set up a realistic set of priorities to what is implementable within a specific timeframe. The current approach may make the legislators feel their job is done and comfort the American people into feeling that all is well. The risk is that five years from now the defense of this great republic will be no better

served than it is today because of no stringent assessment of immediate necessity or long term goals.

The solution demands that a tractable, pragmatic agenda for bio-defense be shaped, with transparent rationales and definitions of time frames in which specific objectives are to be fulfilled. With limited capabilities of intelligence gathering through environmental sensors, the single greatest point of leverage we have available to us today is improving the speed with which we detect infected individuals and to accurately identify the infectious agent involved.

Over the next twelve months we need to completely rebuild the vital first line of public health defense and consequence management preparedness. Additionally, a second urgent objective is to ensure that every major health care network in the United States be required to have in place a disaster management plan for handling a mass casualty disaster, including significant casualties caused by bioterrorism.

Directing and financing preparedness is the responsibility of the federal government. It must establish a basic template for financial resources and performance expectations. However, one cannot view this simply as a problem of governance. Crucial problems in bio defense preparedness also arise from the long-standing levels of inefficiency in health care and variations in clinical practice. These have nothing to do with failing to prepare for bioterrorism. They reflect the pervasive reluctance of health care professionals to embrace change and the cultural paranoia of the medical profession toward any reform that challenges its primacy in decision making. The extravagant variability in clinical practice between medical centers is unequivocally the responsibility of the health care system to reform.

A comfortable, complacent society that is cocooned from risk is the perfect target for its enemies. Too many people in Washington foolishly feel that by dispensing billions in the wake of September's horror, they've done their bit to plug the dam. We must be sure to properly channel our resources to build a comprehensive national defense on all fronts. It is time to open our eyes to strengthen our system's immunity.

*Adam Fein is a senior in Morse College.*





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# SECURING AMERICA'S FUTURE

## AMERICAN DIPLOMACY IN A CHANGING GLOBAL CLIMATE

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has struggled to identify its proper role on the global stage. The disappearance of the specter of the Soviet Union has left America without a single identifiable nemesis, and has taken with it America's justification for Western unilateralism in the name of a secure world order. The events of September 11 delivered the U.S. a fresh mandate to eliminate a threat that, until then, had seemed quite distant to ordinary Americans.

In his speech delivered on the evening of the attacks, President Bush asserted that America would make no distinction between terrorists and the governments that harbor them. In the months since he has begun to articulate a new doctrine of pre-emption that provides a justification for pre-emptive intervention in situations and regions that threaten the interests of the U.S. and the safety of its citizens.

But even as the U.S. has begun to wield its mandate with increasing vigor and authority, the power of that mandate is fading. Many nations, while responsive to America's situation, are beginning to react to what they believe to be America's over-zealous unilateralism. They are increasingly unwilling to allow America to indefinitely rely on the War on Terror as its newfound source of global clout.

This reluctance stems in part from America's irresponsible exercise of its duty. The swift and highly successful effort to eliminate the Taliban notwithstanding, the reconstruction of Afghanistan has been fraught with missteps. America's failure to deliver needed financial aid to the region and its continuing support of warlords has hampered Hamid Karzai's ability to expand his authority, rebuild legal and cultural institutions, and instill law and order across the country. American reluctance to confront the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has caused many Arab allies to be reticent in supporting American action in the region. This growing discontent towards American policy threatens to erupt violently in the wake of an invasion of Iraq. Furthermore, there is a growing percep-

tion that Americans are willing to sacrifice principle in favor of opportunism - rightly condemning the election in Zimbabwe while turning a blind eye to Musharraf's extra-constitutional exercise of authority in Pakistan, for example - which confirms that much of the current policy of the U.S., and of this Administration in particular, is drawn from the well of self-interest.

In an era of increasing globalization and international interdependence, this turn of affairs is troubling. The U.S. is quickly becoming an irresponsible world citizen, trampling

on the rights of other nations in order to preserve its own international economic and political hegemony. Reliance on military might to reinforce political authority cannot last indefinitely: if the U.S. wishes to retain its role as world leader, it must become more perceptive of and receptive to international opinion, and begin to act as first among equals rather than second to none. It must cooperate rather than instigate; it must compromise rather

than unilaterally impose its will.

Unquestionably, the U.S. has made some invaluable contributions to world order since September 11. In the last year, the U.S. has crippled al-Qaeda and disrupted numerous other international terrorist operations; it has laid the foundations of a new nation in Afghanistan; it has strengthened its ties to Russia and has worked diligently to reduce the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. But if 'securing America's future' requires the United States to neglect the interests of her allies, a re-evaluation is in order. The sleeping giants of today - China, India, the European Union - are beginning to rouse themselves, to assert their influence in the various arenas of geopolitics. If the United States does not wish to abandon its influence with these international powers, it must rethink its diplomatic strategies and alter the way in which it interacts with the global community.

*Serge Grossman and Ben Schrader are the Editors-in-Chief of The Politic.*







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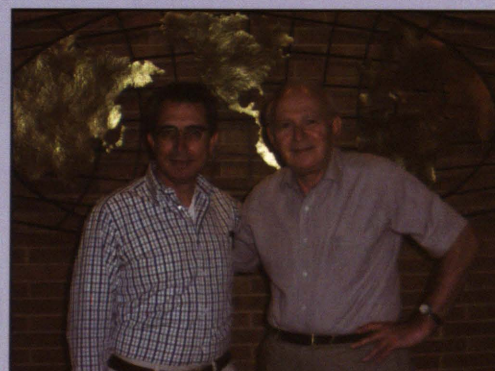
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